

wealth.¹ The family of the chief do not build tombs; and that now raised over the place where the late prince was burned is dedicated as a temple to Siva, and was made merely with a view to secure the place from all danger of profanation.²

The face of the country beyond the influence of the tanks is neither rich nor interesting. The cultivation seemed scanty and the population thin, owing to the irremediable sterility of soil, from the poverty of the primitive rock from whose detritus it is chiefly formed. Raghunāth Rāo told me that the wish of the people in the castle to adopt a child as the successor to his nephew arose from the desire to escape the scrutiny into the past accounts of disbursements which he might be likely to order. I told him that I had myself no doubt that he would be declared the Rājā, and urged him to turn all his thoughts to the future, and to allow no inquiries to be made into the past, with a view to gratify either his own resentment, or that of others; that the Rājās of Jhānsī had hitherto been served by the most respectable, able, and honourable men in the country, while the other chiefs of Bundēlkhand could get no man of this class to do their work for them—that this was the only court in Bundēlkhand in which such men could be seen, simply because it was the only one in which they could feel themselves secure—while other chiefs confiscated the property of ministers who had served them with fidelity, on the pretence of embezzlement; the wealth thus acquired,

¹ These buildings are both tombs and temples. The Gosāins of Jhānsī do not burn, but bury their dead; and over the grave those who can afford to do so raise a handsome temple, and dedicate it to Siva. [W. H. S.] The custom of burial is not peculiar to the Saiva Gosāins of Jhānsī. It is the ordinary practice of Gosāins throughout India. Many of the Gosāins are devoted to the worship of Vishnu. Burial of the dead is practised by a considerable number of the Hindoo castes of the artisan grade, and by some divisions of the sweeper caste.

² This fact lends some support to Mr. W. Simpson's theory that the Hindoo temple is derived from a sepulchral structure.

however, soon disappearing, and its possessors being obliged either to conceal it or go out of the country to enjoy it. Such rulers thus found their courts and capitals deprived of all those men of wealth and respectability who adorned the courts of princes in other countries, and embellished, not merely their capitals, but the face of their dominions in general with their chateaus and other works of ornament and utility. Much more of this sort passed between us, and seemed to make an impression upon him; for he promised to do all that I had recommended to him. Poor man! he can have but a short and miserable existence, for that dreadful disease, the leprosy, is making sad inroads in his system already.¹ His uncle, Raghunāth Rāo, was afflicted with it; and, having understood from the priests that by *drowning* himself in the Ganges (taking the "samādh"), he should remove all traces of it from his family, he went to Benares, and there drowned himself, some twenty years ago. He had no children, and is said to have been the first of his family in whom the disease showed itself.²

¹ This chief died of leprosy in May, 1838. [W. H. S.]

² Raghunāth Rāo was the first of his family invested by the Peshwā with the government of the Jhānsī territory, which he had acquired from the Bundēlkhand chiefs. He went to Benares in 1795 to drown himself, leaving his government to his third brother, Sheorām Bhāo, as his next brother, Lachchhman Rāo, was dead, and his sons were considered incapable. Sheorām Bhāo died in 1815, and his eldest son, Krishan Rāo, had died four years before him, in 1811, leaving one son, the late Rājā, and two daughters. This was a noble sacrifice to what he had been taught by his spiritual teachers to consider as a duty towards his family; and we must admire the man while we condemn the religion and the priests. There is no country in the world where parents are more revered than in India, or where they more readily make sacrifices of all sorts for their children, or for those they consider as such. We succeeded in [June] 1817 to all the rights of the Peshwā in Bundēlkhand, and, with great generosity, converted the viceroys of Jhānsī and Jālaun into independent sovereigns of hereditary principalities, yielding each ten lakhs of rupees. [W. H. S.] The statement in the note that Raghunāth Rāo I. "went to Benares in 1795 to drown himself" is inconsistent with the statement in the text that this event

happened "some twenty years ago." The word "twenty" is evidently a mistake for "forty." The *Gazetteer* names several persons who governed Jhānsī on behalf of the Peshwā between 1742 and 1770, in which latter year Raghunāth Rāo I. received charge. According to the same authority, Sheo Rām Bhāo is called "Sheo Bhāo Hari, better known as Sheo Rāo Bhāo," and he is said to have succeeded Raghunāth Rāo I. in 1794, and to have died in 1814, not 1815. A few words may here be added to complete the history. The leper Raghunāth Rāo II., whose claim the author strangely favoured, was declared Rājā, and died, as already noted, in May, 1838, "his brief period of rule being rendered unquiet by the opposition made to him, professedly on the ground of his being a leper." His revenues fell from twelve lākhs (£120,000) to three lākhs of rupees (£30,000) a year. On his death in 1838, the succession was again contested by four claimants. Pending inquiry into the merits of their claims, the Governor-General's Agent assumed the administration. Ultimately, Gangādhār Rāo, younger brother of the leper, was appointed Rājā. The disorder in the state rendered administration by British officers necessary as a temporary measure, and Gangādhār Rāo did not obtain power until 1842. "The administration of Gangādhār Rāo was, on the whole, good." He died childless in November, 1853, and Lord Dalhousie, applying the doctrine of lapse, annexed the state in 1854, granting a pension of five thousand rupees, or about five hundred pounds, monthly to Lachchmī Bāi, the widow of Gangādhār Rāo, who also succeeded to personal property worth about one hundred thousand pounds. She was indignant at the refusal of permission to adopt a son, and the consequent annexation of the state, and was further deeply offended by several acts of the English administration, above all by the permission of cow-slaughter. Accordingly, when the mutiny broke out, she quickly joined the rebels. On the 7th and 8th June, 1857, all the Europeans in Jhānsī, men, women and children, to the number of about seventy persons, were cruelly murdered by her orders, or with her sanction. On the 9th June her authority was proclaimed. In the prolonged fighting which ensued, she placed herself at the head of her troops, whom she led with great gallantry. In June, 1858, after a year's bloodstained reign, she was killed in battle. By November, 1858, the country was pacified.



CHAPTER XXX

Haunted Villages.

ON the 16th¹ we came on nine miles to Amabāi, the frontier village of the Jhānsī territory, bordering upon Datiyā,² where I had to receive the farewell visits of many members of the Jhānsī parties, who came on to have a quiet opportunity to assure me that, whatever may be the final order of the Supreme Government, they will do their best for the good of the people and the state ; for I have always considered Jhānsī among the native states of Bundēlkhand as a kind of oasis in the desert, the only one in which a man can accumulate property with the confidence of being permitted by its rulers freely to display and enjoy it. I had also to receive the visit of messengers from the Rājā of Datiyā, at whose capital we were to encamp the next day, and, finally, to take leave of my amiable little friend the Sarimant, who here left me on his return to Sāgar, with a heavy heart I really believe.

We talked of the common belief among the agricultural classes of villages being haunted by the spirits of ancient proprietors whom it was thought necessary to propitiate. "He knew," he said, "many instances where these spirits

¹ December, 1835.

² Datiyā (Datia, Dutteeah) is a small state, with an estimated area of about 850 square miles, and a cash revenue of about six lākhs of rupees. On the east it touches the Jhānsī district, but in all other directions it is enclosed by the territories of Sindhia, the Mahārāja of Gwālior. The principality was separated from Orchhā by a family partition in the seventeenth century. The first treaty between the Rājā and the British Government was concluded on the 15th March, 1804.

were so very *froward* that the present heads of villages which they haunted, and the members of their little communities, found it almost impossible to keep them in good humour ; and their cattle and children were, in consequence, always liable to serious accidents of one kind or another. Sometimes they were bitten by snakes, sometimes became possessed by devils, and, at others, were thrown down and beaten most unmercifully. Any person who falls down in an epileptic fit is supposed to be thrown down by a ghost, or possessed by a devil.¹ They feel little of our mysterious dread of ghosts ; a sound *drubbing* is what they dread from them, and he who hurts himself in one of the fits is considered to have got it. "As for himself, whenever he found any one of the villages upon his estate haunted by the spirit of an old 'patēl' (village proprietor), he always made a point of giving him a *neat little shrine*, and having it well endowed and attended, to keep him in good humour ; this he thought was a duty that every landlord owed to his tenants." Rāmchand, the pundit, said that "villages which had been held by old Gond (mountaineer) proprietors were more liable than any other to those kinds of visitations ; that it was easy to say what village was and was not haunted, but often exceedingly difficult to discover to whom the ghost belonged. This once discovered, his nearest surviving relation was, of course, expected to take steps to put him to rest ; but," said he, "it is wrong to suppose that the ghost of an old proprietor must be always doing mischief—he is often the best friend of the cultivators, and of the present proprietor too, if he treats him with proper respect ; for he will not allow the people of any other village to encroach upon their boundaries with impunity, and they will be saved all the expense and annoyance of a reference to the 'adālat' (judicial tribunals) for the settle-

¹ The belief that epileptic patients are possessed by devils is, of course, in no wise peculiar to India. It is almost universal. Professor Lombroso discusses the belief in diabolical possession in chapter iv of "The Man of Genius" (London edn. 1891).

ment of boundary disputes. It will not cost much to conciliate these spirits, and the money is generally well laid out."

Several anecdotes were told me in illustration; and all that I could urge against the probability or possibility of such visitation appeared to them very inconclusive and unsatisfactory. They mentioned the case of the family of village proprietors in the Sāgar district, who had for several generations, at every new settlement, insisted upon having the name of the spirit of the old proprietor inserted in the lease instead of their own, and thereby secured his good graces on all occasions. Mr. Fraser had before mentioned this case to me. In August, 1834, while engaged in the settlement of the land revenue of the Sāgar district for twenty years, he was about to deliver the lease of the estate made out in due form to the head of the family, a very honest and respectable old gentleman, when he asked him respectfully in whose name it had been made out. "In yours, to be sure; have you not renewed your lease for twenty years?" The old man, in a state of great alarm, begged him to have it altered immediately, or he and his family would all be destroyed—that the spirit of the ancient proprietor presided over the village community and its interests, and that all affairs of importance were transacted in his name. "He is," said the old man, "a very jealous spirit, and will not admit of any living man being considered for a moment as a proprietor or joint proprietor of the estate. It has been held by me and my ancestors immediately under Government for many generations; but the lease deeds have always been made out in his name, and ours have been inserted merely as his managers or bailiffs—were this good old rule, under which we have so long prospered, to be now infringed, we should all perish under his anger." Mr. Fraser found, upon inquiring, that this had really been the case; and, to relieve the old man and his family from their fears, he had the papers made out afresh, and the *ghost* inserted as the proprietor. The modes of flattering and propitiating these beings, natural



and supernatural, who are supposed to have the power to do mischief, are endless.¹

While I was in charge of the district of Narsinghpur, in the valley of the Nerbudda, in 1823, a cultivator of the village of Bēdū, about twelve miles distant from my court, was one day engaged in the cultivation of his field on the border of the village of Barkharā, which was supposed to be haunted by the spirit of an old proprietor, whose temper was so froward and violent that the lands could hardly be let for anything, for hardly any man would venture to cultivate them lest he might unintentionally incur his ghostship's displeasure. The poor cultivator, after begging his pardon in secret, ventured to drive his plough a few yards beyond the proper line of his boundary, and thus add half an acre of Barkharā to his own little tenement, which was situated in Bēdū. That very night his only son was bitten by a snake, and his two bullocks were seized with the murrain. In terror he went off to the village temple, confessed his sin, and vowed, not only to restore the half-acre of land to the village of Barkharā, but to build a very handsome shrine upon the spot as a perpetual sign of his repentance. The boy and the bullocks all three recovered, and the shrine was built; and is, I believe, still to be seen as the boundary mark.

¹ "The educated European of the nineteenth century cannot realize the dread in which the Hindoo stands of devils. They haunt his paths from the cradle to the grave. The Tamil proverb in fact says, 'The devil who seizes you in the cradle, goes with you to the funeral pile.'" The fear and worship of ghosts, demons, and devils are universal throughout India, and the rites practised are often comical. The ghost of a bibulous European official with a hot temper, who died at Muzaffarnagar, in the North-Western Provinces, many years ago, is still propitiated by offerings of beer and whisky at his tomb. Much information on the subject is collected in the articles Demon, Devils, Dehwār and Deified Warriors in Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India* (3rd edn.). Almost every number of Mr. Crooke's periodical "North Indian Notes and Queries" (Allahabad, Pioneer Press; London, A. Constable & Co.), gives fresh instances of the oddities of demon-worship.

The fact was that the village stood upon an elevated piece of ground rising out of a moist plain, and a colony of snakes had taken up their abode in it. The bites of these snakes had on many occasions proved fatal, and such accidents were all attributed to the anger of a spirit which was supposed to haunt the village. At one time, under the former government, no one would take a lease of the village on any terms, and it had become almost entirely deserted, though the soil was the finest in the whole district. With a view to remove the whole prejudices of the people, the governor, Goroba Pundit, took the lease himself at the rent of one thousand rupees a year; and, in the month of June, went from his residence, twelve miles, with ten of his own ploughs to superintend the commencement of so *perilous* an undertaking.

On reaching the middle of the village, situated on the top of the little hill, he alighted from his horse, sat down upon a carpet that had been spread for him under a large and beautiful banyan-tree, and began to refresh himself with a pipe before going to work in the fields. As he quaffed his hookah, and railed at the follies of the men, "whose absurd superstitions had made them desert so beautiful a village with so noble a tree in its centre," his eyes fell upon an enormous black snake, which had coiled round one of its branches immediately over his head, and seemed as if resolved at once to pounce down and punish him for his blasphemy. He gave his pipe to his attendant, mounted his horse, from which the saddle had not yet been taken, and never pulled rein till he got home. Nothing could ever induce him to visit this village again, though he was afterwards employed under me as a native collector; and he has often told me that he verily believed this was the spirit of the old landlord that he had unhappily neglected to propitiate before taking possession.

My predecessor in the civil charge of that district, the late Mr. Lindsay of the Bengal Civil Service, again tried to remove the prejudices of the people against the occupation

and cultivation of this fine village. It had never been measured, and all the revenue officers, backed by all the farmers and cultivators of the neighbourhood, declared that the spirit of the old proprietor would never allow it to be so. Mr. Lindsay was a good geometrician, and had long been in the habit of superintending his revenue surveys himself, and on this occasion he thought himself particularly called upon to do so. A new measuring cord was made for the occasion, and, with fear and trembling, all his officers attended him to the first field; but, in measuring it, the rope, by some accident, broke. Poor Lindsay was that morning taken ill, and obliged to return to Narsinghpur, where he died soon after from fever. No man was ever more beloved by all classes of the people of his district than he was; and I believe there was not one person among them who did not believe him to have fallen a victim to the resentment of the spirit of the old proprietor. When I went to the village some years afterwards, the people in the neighbourhood all declared to me that they saw the cord with which he was measuring fly into a thousand pieces the moment the men attempted to straighten it over the first field.¹

A very respectable old gentleman from the Concan, or Malabar coast,² told me one day that every man there protects his field of corn and his fruit-tree by dedicating it to one or other of the spirits which there abound, or confiding it to his guardianship. He sticks up something in the field, or ties on something to the tree, in the name of the said spirit, who from that moment feels himself responsible for its safe keeping. If any one, without permission from the proprietor, presumes to take either an ear

¹ The officials of the native governments were content to use either a rope or a bamboo for field measurements, and these primitive instruments continued to satisfy the early British officers. For many years past a proper chain has been always employed for revenue surveys.

² The Concan (Konkan) comprises Bombay and the districts of Ratnagiri, Thāna, and Kolāba (Colaba).

of corn from the field, or fruit from the tree, he is sure to be killed outright, or made extremely ill. "No other protection is required," said the old gentleman, "for our fields and fruit-trees in that direction, though whole armies should have to march through them." I once saw a man come to the proprietor of a jack-tree, embrace his feet, and in the most piteous manner implore his protection. He asked what was the matter. "I took," said the man, "a jack from your tree¹ yonder three days ago, as I passed at night; and I have been suffering dreadful agony in my stomach ever since. The spirit of the tree is upon me, and you only can pacify him." The proprietor took up a bit of cow-dung, moistened it, and made a mark with it upon the man's forehead, *in the name of the spirit*, and put some of it into the knot of hair on the top of his head. He had no sooner done this than the man's pains all left him, and he went off, vowing never again to give similar cause of offence to one of these guardian spirits. "Men," said my old friend, "do not die there in the same regulated spirit, with their thoughts directed exclusively towards God, as in other parts; and whether a man's spirit is to haunt the world or not after his death all depends on that."

¹ *Artocarpus integrifolius*. The jack fruit attains an enormous size, and sometimes weighs fifty or sixty pounds. Natives delight in it, but to most Europeans it is extremely offensive.



CHAPTER XXXI

Interview with the Rājā of Datiyā—Fiscal Errors of Statesmen—
Thieves and Robbers by Profession.

ON the 17th¹ we came to Datiyā, nine miles over a dry and poor soil, thinly, and only partially, covering a bed of brown and grey syenite, with veins of quartz and feldspar, and here and there dykes of basalt, and a few boulders scattered over the surface. The old Rājā, Parichhat,² on one elephant, and his cousin, Dalip Singh, upon a second, and several of their relations upon others, all splendidly caparisoned, came out two miles to meet us, with a very large and splendid cortége. My wife, as usual, had gone on in her palankeen very early, to avoid the crowd and dust of this "istikbāl," or meeting; and my little boy, Henry, went on at the same time in the palankeen, having got a slight fever from too much exposure to the sun in our slow and stately entrance into Jhānsī. There were more men in steel chain armour in this cortége than in that of Jhānsī; and, though the elephants were not quite so fine, they were just as numerous, while the crowd of foot attendants was still greater. They were in fancy dresses, individually handsome, and collectively picturesque; though, being all soldiers, not quite pleasing to the eye of a soldier. I remarked to the Rājā, as we rode side by side on our elephants, that we attached much importance to having our soldiers all in uniform dresses, according to their corps, while he seemed to care little about these matters. "Yes," said the old man, with a smile, "with me every man pleases

¹ December, 1835.

² Rājā Parichhat died in 1839.

himself in his dress, and I care not what he wears, provided it is neat and clean." They certainly formed a body more picturesque from being allowed individually to consult their own fancies in their dresses, for the native taste in dress is generally very good. Our three elephants came on abreast, and the Rājā and I conversed as freely as men in such situations can converse. He is a stout, cheerful old gentleman, as careless apparently about his own dress as about that of his soldiers, and a much more sensible and agreeable person than I expected ; and I was sorry to learn from him that he had for twelve years been suffering from an attack of sciatica on one side, which had deprived him of the use of one of his legs. I was obliged to consent to halt the next day that I might hunt in his preserve (ramnā) in the morning, and return his visit in the evening. In the Rājā's cortége there were several men mounted on excellent horses, who carried guitars, and played upon them, and sang in a very agreeable style. I had never before seen or heard of such a band, and was both surprised and pleased.

The great part of the wheat, gram,¹ and other exportable land produce which the people consume, as far as we have yet come, is drawn from our Nerbudda districts, and those of Mālwa which border upon them ; and, *par consequent*, the price has been rapidly increasing as we recede from them in our advance northward. Were the soil of those Nerbudda districts, situated as they are at such a distance from any great market for their agricultural products, as bad as it is in the parts of Bundēlkhand that I came over, no net surplus revenue could possibly be drawn from them in the present state of arts and industry. The high prices paid here for land produce, arising from the necessity of drawing a great part of what is consumed from such distant lands, enables the Rājās of these Bundēlkhand states to draw the large revenue they do. These chiefs expend the

¹ The word gram (*Cicer arietinum*) is misprinted "grain" in the author's text, in this place and in many others.

whole of their revenue in the maintenance of public establishments of one kind or other; and, as the essential articles of subsistence, wheat and gram, &c., which are produced in their own districts, or those immediately around them, are not sufficient for the supply of these establishments, they must draw them from distant territories. All this produce is brought on the backs of bullocks, because there is no road from the districts whence they obtain it, over which a wheeled carriage can be drawn with safety; and, as this mode of transit is very expensive, the price of the produce, when it reaches the capitals, around which these local establishments are concentrated, becomes very high. They must pay a price equal to the collective cost of purchasing and bringing this substance from the most distant districts, to which they are at any time obliged to have recourse for a supply, or they will not be supplied; and, as there cannot be two prices for the same thing in the same market, the wheat and gram produced in the neighbourhood of one of these Bundēlkhand capitals fetch as high a price there as that brought from the most remote districts on the banks of the Nerbudda river; while it costs comparatively nothing to bring it from the former lands to the markets. Such lands, in consequence, yield a rate of rent much greater compared with their natural powers of fertility than those of the remotest districts whence produce is drawn for these markets or capitals; and, as all the lands are the property of the Rājās, they drew all those rents as revenue.¹

Were we to take this revenue, which the Rājās now enjoy, in tribute for the maintenance of public establish-

¹ Bundēlkhand exports to the Ganges a great quantity of cotton, which enables it to pay for the wheat, gram, and other land produce which it draws from distant districts. [W. H. S.] Other considerable exports from Bundēlkhand are the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, yielding a dark red dye, and the coarse *kharwā* cloth, a kind of canvas, dyed with this dye, which is known by the name of "āl." The construction of railways and roads has revolutionized the system of trade, and equalized prices.

ments concentrated at distant seats, all these local establishments would, of course, be at once disbanded ; and all the effectual demand which they afford for the raw agricultural produce of distant districts would cease. The price of this produce would diminish in proportion, and with it the value of the lands of the districts around such capitals. Hence the folly of conquerors and paramount powers, from the days of the Greeks and Romans down to those of Lord Hastings¹ and Sir John Malcolm,² who were all bad political economists, supposing that conquered and ceded territories could always be made to yield to a foreign state the same amount of gross revenue as they had paid to their domestic government, whatever their situation with reference to the markets for their produce—whatever the state of their arts and their industry—and whatever the character and extent of the local establishments maintained out of it. The settlements of the land revenue in all the territories acquired in Central India during the Marāthā war, which ended in 1817, were made upon the supposition that the lands would continue to pay the same rate of rent under the new as they had paid under the old government, uninfluenced by the diminution of all local establishments, civil and military, to one-tenth of what they had been ; that, under the new order of things, all the waste lands must be brought into tillage, and be able to pay as high a rate of rent as before tillage, and, consequently, that the aggregate available net revenue must greatly and rapidly increase. Those who had the making of the settlements and the governing of these new territories did not consider that the diminution of every *establishment* was the removal of a *market*, of an effectual demand for land produce ; and that, when all the waste lands should be brought into tillage, the whole would

¹ Governor-General from 4th October, 1813, till 1st January, 1823. He was Earl of Moira when he assumed office.

² Sir John Malcolm was Agent to the Governor-General in Central India from 1817 to 1822, and was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1827.

deteriorate in fertility, from the want of fallows, under the prevailing system of agriculture, which afforded the lands no other means of renovation from over-cropping. The settlements of land which were made throughout our new land acquisitions upon these fallacious assumptions of course failed. During a series of quinquennial settlements the assessment has been everywhere gradually reduced to about two-thirds of what it was when our rule began, to less than one-half of what Sir John Malcolm, and all the other local authorities, and even the worthy Marquis of Hastings himself, under the influence of their opinions, expected it would be. The land revenues of the native princes of Central India, who reduced their public establishments, which the new order of things seemed to render useless, and thereby diminished the only markets for the raw produce of their lands, have been everywhere falling off in the same proportion ; and scarcely one of them now draws two-thirds of the income he drew from the same lands in 1817.

There are in the valley of the Nerbudda districts that yield a great deal more produce every year than either Orchhā, Jhānsī, or Datiyā ; and yet, from the want of the same domestic markets, they do not yield one-fourth of the amount of land revenue. The lands are, however, rated equally high to the assessment, in proportion to their value to the farmers and cultivators. To enable them to yield a larger revenue to government, they require to have larger establishments as markets for land produce. These establishments may be either public, and paid by government ; or they may be private, as manufactories, by which the land produce of these districts would be consumed by people employed in investing the value of their labour in commodities suited to the demand of distant markets, and more valuable than land produce in proportion to their weight and bulk.¹ These are the establishments which govern-

¹ The construction of railways and the development of trade with Europe have completely altered the conditions. The Nerbudda valley can now yield a considerable revenue.

ment should exert itself to introduce and foster ; since the valley of the Nerbudda, in addition to a soil exceedingly fertile, has in its whole line, from its source to its embouchure, rich beds of coal reposing for the use of future generations, under the sandstone of the Sātpura and Vindhya ranges, and beds no less rich of very fine iron. These advantages have not yet been justly appreciated ; but they will be so by-and-by.¹

¹ The iron-ore is no doubt good, but the difficulties in the way of working it profitably are so great that the author's sanguine expectations seem unlikely to be realized. Mr. V. Ball, the best authority on the subject, observes, "As will be abundantly shown in the course of the following pages, the manufacture of iron has, in many parts of India, been wholly crushed out of existence by competition with English iron, while in others it is steadily decreasing, and it seems destined to become extinct." (*Economic Geology*, being part of the *Manual of the Geology of India*, page 338.) "In Chāndā," according to the same author, "ordinary blast furnaces are inapplicable, owing to the badness of the fuel ; but it is possible that, by other methods of reduction, Chāndā would be in a position to supply the Central Provinces and parts of Bombay with iron at an average rate slightly lower than that paid for English iron. The same remarks may perhaps be extended to some of the localities in the Narbada valley. But, as regards the rest of India, with the doubtful exception of Upper Assam, there does not appear to be any solid ground for hope that iron, under existing conditions, can be manufactured profitably. This opinion is founded upon careful analysis of all that has been done to give the matter a fair experimental trial at a number of places" (*ibid.* p. 343). Full details of the working of the mines in the Jabalpur, Narsinghpur, and Chāndā districts of the Central Provinces are given in pages 384 to 392 of the same work.

Coal is not found below the very ancient sandstone rocks, which are now classed by geologists under the name of the Vindhyan Series. The principal beds of coal are found in the great series of rocks, known collectively as the Gondwāna System, which is supposed to range in age from the Permian to the Upper Jurassic periods of European geologists. (*Manual*, i, p. 102.) This Gondwāna System includes sandstones. A coalfield at Mopani, ninety-five miles west-south-west from Jabalpur by rail, has been worked for many years by the Nerbudda Coal and Iron Company. The principal coal-field of the Central Provinces is near Warōrā in the Chāndā district, but even there the operations are not on a very extensive scale. The total output of coal

About half-past four in the afternoon of the day we reached Datiyā, I had a visit from the Rājā, who came in his palankeen, with a very respectable, but not very numerous or noisy train, and he sat with me about an hour. My large tents were both pitched parallel to each other, about twenty paces distant, and united to each other at both ends by separate "kanāts," or cloth curtains. My little boy was present, and behaved extremely well in steadily refusing, without even a look from me, a handful of gold mohurs, which the Rājā pressed several times upon his acceptance. I received him at the door of my tent, and supported him upon my arm to his chair, as he cannot walk without some slight assistance, from the affection already mentioned in his leg. A salute from the guns at his castle announced his departure and return to it. After the audience, Lieutenant Thomas and I ascended to the summit of a palace of the former Rājās of this state, which stands upon a high rock close inside the eastern gate of the city, whence we could see to the west of the city a still larger and handsomer palace standing. I asked our conductors, the Rājā's servants, why it was unoccupied. "No prince these degenerate days," said they, "could muster a family and court worthy of such a palace—the family and court of the largest of them would, within the walls of such a building, feel as if they were in a desert. Such palaces were made for princes of the older times, who were quite different beings from those of the present day."

From the deserted palace we went to the new garden which is preparing for the young Rājā, an adopted son of about ten years of age. It is close to the southern wall of the city, and is very extensive and well-managed. The orange-

in the Central Provinces for the year 1879 was only 33,515 tons. The average annual output for the three years preceding 1879 was rather larger, 46,372 tons (*Economic Geology*, pp. 92, 595). Since the publication of Mr. Ball's book in 1881, the output of the Warora field may have increased, but exact statistics are not at hand.

trees are all grafted, and sinking under the weight of as fine fruit as any in India. Attempting to ascend the steps of an empty bungalow upon a raised terrace at the southern extremity of the garden, the attendants told us respectfully that they hoped we would take off our shoes if we wished to enter, as the ancestor of the Rājā, by whom it was built, Rām Chand, had lately *become a god*, and was there worshipped. The roof is of stone, supported on carved stone pillars. On the centre pillar, upon a ground of whitewash, is a hand or trident. This is the only sign of a sacred character the building has yet assumed; and I found that it owed this character of sanctity to the circumstance of some one having vowed an offering to the manes of the builder, if he obtained what his soul most desired; and, having obtained it, all the people believe that those who do the same at the same place in a pure spirit of faith will obtain what they pray for.

I made some inquiries about Hardaul Lāla, the son of Birsingh Deo, who built the fort of Dhamonī, one of the ancestors of the Datiyā Rājā, and found that he was as much worshipped here at his birthplace as upon the banks of the Nerbudda as the supposed great *originator* of the cholera morbus. There is at Datiyā a temple dedicated to him and much frequented; and one of the priests brought me a flower in his name, and chanted something indicating that Hardaul Lāla was now worshipped even so far as the British *capital of Calcutta*. I asked the old prince what he thought of the origin of the worship of this his ancestor; and he told me that when the cholera broke out first in the camp of Lord Hastings, then pitched about three stages from his capital, on the bank of the Sindh at Chāndpur Sunārī, several people recovered from the disease immediately after making votive offerings in his name; and that he really thought the spirit of his great-grandfather had worked some wonderful cures upon people afflicted with this dreadful malady.¹

¹ See note to chapter xxv, *ante*, p. 200.

The town of Datiyā contains a population of between forty and fifty thousand souls. The streets are narrow, for, in buildings, as in dress, the Rājā allows every man to consult his own inclinations. There are, however, a great many excellent houses in Datiyā, and the appearance of the place is altogether very good. Many of his feudatory chiefs reside occasionally in the city, and have all their establishments with them, a practice which does not, I believe, prevail anywhere else among these Bundēlkhand chiefs, and this makes the capital much larger, handsomer, and more populous than that of Tehri. This indicates more of mutual confidence between the chief and his vassals, and accords well with the character they bear in the surrounding countries. Some of the houses occupied by these barons are very pretty. They spend the revenue of their distant estates in adorning them, and embellishing the capital, which they certainly could not have ventured to do under the late Rājās of Tehri, and may not possibly be able to do under the future Rājās of Datiyā. The present minister of Datiyā, Ganēsh, is a very great knave, and encourages the residence upon his master's estate of all kinds of thieves and robbers, who bring back from distant districts every season vast quantities of booty, which they share with him. The chief himself is a mild old gentleman, who would not suffer violence to be offered to any of his nobles, though he would not, perhaps, quarrel with his minister for getting him a little addition to his revenue from without, by affording a sanctuary to such kind of people. As in Tehri, so here, the pickpockets constitute the entire population of several villages, and carry their depredations northward to the banks of the Indus, and southward to Bombay and Madras. But colonies of thieves and robbers like these abound no less in our own territories than in those of native states. There are more than a thousand families of them in the districts of Muzaffarnagar,

Sahāranpur, and Meerut in the Upper Doāb,¹ all well enough known to the local authorities, who can do nothing with them.

They extend their depredations into remote districts, and the booty they bring home with them they share liberally with the native police and landholders under whose protection they live. Many landholders and police officers make large fortunes from the share they get of this booty. Magistrates do not molest them, because they would despair of ever finding the proprietors of the property that might be found upon them ; and, if they could trace them, they would never be able to persuade them to come and "enter upon a worse sea of troubles" in prosecuting them. These thieves and robbers of the professional classes, who have the sagacity to avoid plundering near home, are always just as secure in our best regulated districts as they are in the worst native states, from the only three things which such depredators care about—the penal laws, the odium of the society in which they move, and the vengeance of the god they worship ; and they are always well received in the society around them, as long as they can avoid having their neighbours annoyed by summons to give evidence for or against them in our courts. They feel quite sure of the good-will of the god they worship, provided they give a fair share of their booty to his priests ; and no less secure of impunity from penal laws, except on very rare occasions when they happen to be taken in the fact, in a country where such laws happen to be in force.²

¹ The Persian word "doāb" means the tract of land between two rivers, which ultimately meet. The upper doāb referred to in the text lies between the Ganges and the Jumna.

² These "colonies of thieves and robbers" are still the despair of the Indian administrator. They are known to Anglo-Indian law as "criminal tribes," and a special Act has been passed for their regulation. The principle of that Act is police supervision, exercised by means of visits of inspection, and the issue of passports. The Act has been applied from time to time to various tribes, but has in every case failed. In 1891, Sir Auckland Colvin, then Lieutenant-Governor

of the North-Western Provinces, adopted the strong measure of suddenly capturing many hundreds of Sānsias, a troublesome criminal tribe, in the Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, and Aligarh Districts. Some of the prisoners were sent to a special jail, or reformatory, called a "settlement," at Sultānpur in Oudh, and the others were drafted off to various landlords' estates. These latter were supposed to devote themselves to agriculture. The editor, as Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar, effected the capture of more than seven hundred Sānsias in that district, and despatched them in accordance with orders. As most people expected, the agricultural pupils promptly absconded. Multitudes of Sānsias in the Panjāb and elsewhere remained unaffected by the raid, which cannot have any permanent effect. The milder expedient of settling and nursing a large colony, organized in villages, of another criminal tribe, the Bāwarias (Boureahs)), was also tried nearly thirty years ago in the same district of Muzaffarnagar. The people settled readily enough, and have reclaimed a considerable area of waste land, but have not in the least degree reformed. At the beginning of the cold season, in October or November, most of the able-bodied men annually leave the villages, and remain absent on distant forays till March or April, when they return with their booty, enjoying almost complete immunity for the reasons stated in the text. A few years ago some of these Bāwarias of Muzaffarnagar stole a lākh and a half of rupees, (about £12,000 at that time), in currency notes at Tuticorin, in the south of the peninsula, 1,400 miles distant from their home. The number of such criminal tribes, or castes, is very great, and the larger of these communities, such as the Sānsias, each comprise many thousands of members, diffused over an enormous area in several provinces. It is, therefore, impossible to put them down, except by the use of drastic measures such as no civilized European government could propose or sanction. The criminal tribes, or castes, are, to a large extent, races; but, in many of these castes, fresh blood is constantly introduced by the admission of outsiders, who are willing to eat with the members of the tribe, and so become for ever incorporated in the brotherhood. The gipsies of Europe are closely related to certain of these Indian tribes. The official literature on the subject is of considerable bulk. Mr. W. Crooke's small book, "An Ethnographic Glossary," which he published in 1891 (Government Press, Allahabad), is a convenient summary of most of the facts on record concerning the criminal and other castes of Northern Indian, and gives abundant references to other publications. The author's folio book, "Report on the Budhuk alias Bagree Decoits and other Gang Robbers by Hereditary Profession, and on the Measures adopted by the Government of India for their Suppression" (Calcutta, 1849), is probably the most valuable of the original authorities on the subject. It is not generally known, and is full of curious information.

CHAPTER XXXII

Sporting at Datiyā—Fidelity of Followers to their Chiefs in India—
Law of Primogeniture wanting among Muhammadans.

THE morning after we reached Datiyā, I went out with Lieutenant Thomas to shoot and hunt in the Rājā's large preserve, and with the *humane* and determined resolution of killing no more game than our camp would be likely to eat ; for we were told that the deer and wild hogs were so very numerous that we might shoot just as many as we pleased.¹ We were posted upon two terraces, one near the gateway, and the other in the centre of the preserve ; and, after waiting here an hour, we got each a shot at a hog. Hares we saw, and might have shot, but we had loaded all our barrels with ball for other game. We left the "ramnā," which is a quadrangle of about one hundred acres of thick grass, shrubs, and brushwood, enclosed by a high stone wall. There is one gate on the west side, and this is kept open during the night, to let the game out and in. It is shut and guarded during the day, when the animals are left to repose in the shade, except on such occasions as the present, when the Rājā wants to give his guests a morning's sport. On the plains and woods outside we saw a good many large deer, but could not manage to get near them in our own way, and had not patience to try that of the natives, so that we came back without killing anything, or having had any occasion to exercise our *forbearance*. The Rājā's people, as soon as we left them, went about their

¹ Some readers may be shocked at the notion of the author shooting pig, but, in Bundēlkhand, where pig-sticking, or hog-hunting, as the older writers call it, is not practised, hog-shooting is quite legitimate.

sport after their own fashion, and brought us a fine buck antelope after breakfast. They have a bullock trained to go about the fields with them, led at a quick pace by a halter, with which the sportsman guides him, as he walks along with him by the side opposite to that facing the deer he is in pursuit of. He goes round the deer as he grazes in the field, shortening the distance at every circle till he comes within shot. At the signal given the bullock stands still, and the sportsman rests his gun upon his back and fires. They seldom miss. Others go with a fine buck and doe antelope, tame, and trained to browse upon the fresh bushes, which are woven for the occasion into a kind of hand-hurdle, behind which a man creeps along over the fields towards the herd of wild ones, or sits still with his matchlock ready, and pointed out through the leaves. The herd seeing the male and female strangers so very busily and agreeably employed upon their apparently inviting repast, advance to accost them, and are shot when they get within a secure distance.¹ The hurdle was filled with branches from the "*dheu*" (*Lythrum fruticosum*) tree, of which the jungle is for the most part composed, plucked as we went along; and the tame antelopes, having been kept long fasting for the purpose, fed eagerly upon them. We had also two pairs of falcons; but a knowledge of the brutal manner in which these birds are fed and taught is enough to prevent any but a *brute* from taking much delight in the sport they afford.²

¹ The common antelope, or black buck (*Antelope bezoartica*, or *cervicapra*) feeds in herds, sometimes numbering many hundreds, in the open plains, especially those of black soil. Natives armed with matchlocks can scarcely get a shot except by adopting artifices similar to those described in the text.

² Sixteen species of hawks, belonging to several genera, are trained in India. They are often fed by being allowed to suck the blood from the breasts of live pigeons, and their eyes are darkened by means of a silken thread passed through holes in the eyelids. "Hawking is a very dull and very cruel sport. A person must become insensible to the sufferings of the most beautiful and most inoffensive of the brute

The officer who conducted us was evidently much disappointed, for he was really very anxious, as he knew his master the Rājā was, that we should have a good day's sport. On our way back I made him ride by my side, and talk to me about Datiyā, since he had been unable to show me any sport. I got his thoughts into a train that I knew would animate him, if he had any soul at all for poetry or poetical recollections, as I thought he had. "The noble works in palaces and temples," said he, "which you see around you, Sir, mouldering in ruins, were built by princes who had beaten emperors in battle, and whose spirits still hover over and protect the place. Several times, under the late disorders which preceded your paramount rule in Hindustan, when hostile forces assembled around us, and threatened our capital with destruction, lights and elephants innumerable were seen from the tops of those battlements, passing and repassing under the walls, ready to defend them had the enemy attempted an assault. Whenever our soldiers endeavoured to approach near them, they disappeared ; and everybody knew that they were spirits of men like Birsingh Deo and Hardaul Lāla that had come to our aid, and we never lost confidence." It is easy to understand the devotion of men to their chiefs when they believe their progenitors to have been demigods, and to have been faithfully served by their ancestors for several generations. We neither have, nor ever can have, servants so personally devoted to us as these men are to their chiefs, though we have soldiers who will fight under our banners with as much courage and fidelity. They know that their grandfathers served the grandfathers of these chiefs, and they hope their grandchildren will serve their grandsons. The one feels as much pride and pleasure in so serving, as the other in being so served ; and both hope that the link which binds them may never be severed. Our servants, on the contrary,

creation before he can feel any enjoyment in it. The cruelty lies chiefly in the mode of feeding the hawks." (*Journey through the Kingdom of Oud*), vol. i, p. 109.)

private and public, are always in dread that some accident, some trivial fault, or some slight offence, not to be avoided, will sever for ever the link that binds them to their master.

The fidelity of the military classes of the people of India to their immediate chief, or leader, whose *salt they eat*, has been always very remarkable, and commonly bears little relation to his *moral virtues*, or conduct to *his* superiors. They feel that it is their duty to serve him who feeds and protects them and their families in all situations, and under all circumstances ; and the chief feels that, while he has a right to their services, it is his imperative duty so to feed and protect them and their families. He may change sides as often as he pleases, but the relations between him and his followers remain unchanged. About the side he chooses to take in a contest for dominion, they ask no questions, and feel no responsibility. God has placed their destinies in dependence upon his ; and to him they cling to the last. In Mālwa, Bhopāl, and other parts of Central India, the Muhammadan rule could be established over that of the Rājput chief, only by the annihilation of the entire race of their followers.¹ In no part of the world has the devotion of soldiers to their immediate chief been more remarkable than in India among the Rājpuṭs ; and in no part of the world has the fidelity of these chiefs to the paramount power been more unsteady, or their devotion less to be relied upon. The laws of Muhammad, which

¹ The wording of this sentence is unfortunate, and it is not easy to understand why the author mentioned Bhopāl. The principality of Bhopāl was formed by Dost Mohammad Khān, an Afghān officer of Aurangzēb, who became independent after that sovereign's death in 1707. Since that time the dynasty has always continued to be Muhammadan. The services of Sikandar Bēgam in the mutiny are well known. Mālwa is the country lying between Bundēlkhand, on the east, and Rājputāna, on the west, and includes Bhopāl. Most of the states in this region are now ruled by Hindoos, but the local dynasty which ruled the kingdom of Mālwa and Mandū from A.D. 1401 to about 1530 was Musalmān. (See Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehlī*, p.p. 346-353.)

prescribe that the property in land be divided equally among the sons,¹ leaves no rule for succession to territorial or political dominion. It has been justly observed by Hume —“The right of primogeniture was introduced with the feudal law; an institution which is hurtful by producing and maintaining an unequal division of property; but it is advantageous in another respect by accustoming the people to a preference for the eldest son, and thereby preventing a partition or disputed succession in the monarchy.”

Among the Muhammadan princes there was no law that bound the whole members of a family to obey the eldest son of a deceased prince. Every son of the Emperor of Hindustan considered that he had a right to set up his claim to the throne, vacated by the death of his father; and, in anticipation of that death, to strengthen his claim by negotiations and intrigues with all the territorial chiefs and influential nobles of the empire. However *prejudicial to the interests* of his elder brother such measures might be, they were never considered to be an *invasion of his rights*, because such rights had never been established by the laws of their prophet. As all the sons considered that they had an equal right to solicit the support of the chiefs and nobles, so all the chiefs and nobles considered that they could adopt the cause of whichever *son* they chose, without incurring the reproach of either *treason* or dishonour. The one who succeeded thought himself justified by the law of self-preservation to put, not only his brothers, but all their sons, to death; so that there was, after every new succession, an entire *clearance* of all the male members of the imperial family. Aurangzēb said to his pedantic tutor, who wished to be raised to high station on his accession to the imperial throne, “Should not you, instead of your flattery, have taught me something of that point so impor-

¹ All near relatives succeed to a Muhammadan's estate, which is divided, under complicated rules, into the necessary number of shares. A son's share is double that of a daughter. As between themselves all sons share equally.

tant to a king, which is, what are the reciprocal duties of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of the subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have considered that one day I should be obliged, with the sword, to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny, almost of all the sons of Hindustan?"¹ Now that they have become pensioners of the British government, the members increase like white ants; and, as Malthus has it, "press so hard against their means of subsistence" that a great many of them are absolutely starving, in spite of the enormous pension the head of the family receives for their maintenance.²

The city of Datiyā is surrounded by a stone wall about thirty feet high, with its foundation on a solid rock; but it has no ditch or glacis, and is capable of little or no defence against cannon. In the afternoon I went, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas, and followed by the best cortège we could muster, to return the Rājā's visit. He resides within the walls of the city in a large square garden, enclosed with a high wall, and filled with fine orange-trees, at this time bending under the weight of the most delicious fruit. The old chief received us at the bottom of a fine flight of

¹ Bernier's *Revolutions of the Mogul Empire*. [W. H. S.] The author seems to have used either the London edition of 1671, entitled *The History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogul*, or one of the reprints of that edition. The anecdote referred to is called by Bernier "an uncommonly good story." Aurangzēb made a long speech, ending by dismissing the unlucky pedagogue with the words—"Go! withdraw to thy native village. Henceforth let no man know either who thou art, or what is become of thee." (Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p.p. 154-161, Constable's Oriental Miscellany editions.)

² Compare the forcible description of the state of the Delhi royal family in Chapter xx of volume ii, *post*. The old emperor's pension was one hundred thousand rupees a month. The events of the mutiny effected a considerable clearance, though the number of persons claiming relationship with the royal house is still large. A few of these have taken service under the British government, but have not distinguished themselves.

steps leading up to a handsome pavilion, built upon the wall of one of the faces of this garden. It was enclosed at the back, and in front looked into the garden through open arcades. The floors were spread with handsome carpets of the Jhānsī manufacture. In front of the pavilion was a wide terrace of polished stone, extending to the top of the flight of the steps; and, in the centre of this terrace, and directly opposite to us as we looked into the garden, was a fine *jet d'eau* in a large basin of water in full play, and, with its shower of diamonds, showing off the rich green and red of the orange-trees to the best advantage.

The large quadrangle thus occupied is called the "kila," or fort, and the wall that surrounds it is thirty feet high, with a round embattled tower at each corner. On the east face is a fine large gateway for the entrance, with a curtain as high as the wall itself. Inside the gate is a piece of ordnance painted red, with the largest calibre I ever saw.¹ This is fired once a year, at the festival of the Dasahra.²

¹ The author, unfortunately, does not give the dimensions of this piece. Rūmī Khān's gun at Bijāpur, in the Nizām's territories, which was cast in the sixteenth century at Ahmadnagar, is generally considered the largest ancient cannon in India. It is fifteen feet long, and weighs about forty-one tons, the calibre being two feet four inches. Like the gun at Datiyā, it is painted with red lead, and is worshipped by Hindoos, who are always ready to worship every manifestation of power. Another big gun at Bijāpur is thirty feet in length, built up of bars bound together. Other very large pieces exist at Gāwilgarh in Berār, and Bīdar in the Nizam's dominions. (Balfour's *Cyclopædia*, 3rd edn., s.v. Gun, Bijāpur, Gawilgarh Hill Range, and Beder.)

² The Dasahra festival, celebrated at the beginning of October, marks the close of the rains and the commencement of the cold season. It is observed by all classes of Hindus, but especially by Rājās and the military classes, for whom this festival has peculiar importance. In the old days no prince or commander, whether his command consisted of soldiers or robbers, ever undertook regular operations until the Dasahra had been duly observed. All Rājās still receive valuable offerings on this occasion, which form an important element in their revenue. In some places buffaloes are sacrificed by the Rājā in person. The soldiers worship the weapons which they hope to use during the coming season. Among the Marāthās the ordnance received especial

Our arrival at the wall was announced by a salute from some fine brass guns upon the bastions near the gateway. As we advanced from the gateway up through the garden to the pavilion, we were again serenaded by our friends with their guitars and excellent voices. They were now on foot, and arranged along both sides of the walk that we had to pass through. The open garden space within the walls appeared to me to be about ten acres. It is crossed and recrossed at right angles by numerous walks, having rows of plantain and other fruit-trees on each side ; and orange, pomegranate, and other small fruit-trees to fill the space between ; and anything more rich and luxuriant one can hardly conceive. In the centre of the north and west sides are pavilions with apartments for the family above, behind, and on each side of the great reception room, exactly similar to that in which we were received on the south face. The whole formed, I think, the most delightful residence that I have seen for a hot climate. There is, however, no doubt that the most healthy stations in this, and every other hot climate are those situated upon dry, open, sandy plains, with neither shrubberies nor basins.¹

We were introduced to the young Rājā, the old man's adopted son, a lad of about ten years of age, who is to be married in February next. He is plain in person, but has a pleasing expression of countenance ; and, if he be moulded after the old man, and not after his minister, the country may perhaps have in him the "lucky accident" of a good governor.²

attention and worship. The ceremony of worshipping the *shumee* or *cheonkul* tree (*Acacia suma*) at this festival has been noticed *ante*, p. 213.

¹ Few Europeans now-a-days could join in the author's enthusiastic admiration of the Datiyā garden. The arrangements seem to have been those which are usual in large formal native gardens in Northern India.

² This lad has since succeeded his adoptive father as the chief of the Datiyā principality. The old chief found him one day lying in the grass, as he was shooting through one of his preserves. His elephant

I have rarely seen a finer or more prepossessing man than the Rājā, and all his subjects speak well of him. We had an elephant, a horse, abundance of shawls, and other fine clothes placed before us as presents ; but I prayed the old gentleman to keep them all for me till I returned, as I was a mere voyageur without the means of carrying such valuable things in safety ; but he would not be satisfied till I had taken two plain hilts of swords and two spears, the manufacture of Datiyā, and of little value, which Lieutenant Thomas and I promised to keep for his sake. The rest of the presents were all taken back to their places. After an hour's talk with the old man and his ministers, attar of roses and pān were distributed, and we took our leave to go and visit the old palace, which as yet we had seen only from a distance. There were only two men besides the Rājā, his son, and ourselves, seated upon chairs. All the other principal persons of the court sat around cross-legged on the carpet ; but they joined freely in the conversation. I was told by these courtiers how often the young chief had, during the day, asked when he would have the happiness of seeing me ; and the old chief was told, in my hearing, how many *good things* I had said since I came into his territories, all tending to his honour and my credit. This is a species of barefaced flattery to which we are all doomed to submit in our intercourse with these native chiefs ; but still, to a man of sense, it never ceases to be

was very near treading upon the infant before he saw it. He brought home the boy, adopted him as his son, and declared him his successor, from having no son of his own. The British government, finding that the people generally seemed to acquiesce in the old man's wishes, sanctioned the measure, as the paramount power. [W. H. S.] The old Rājā died in 1839, and the succession of the boy, Bijai Bahādur, thus strangely favoured by fortune, was unsuccessfully opposed by one of the nobles of the state. Bijai Bahādur governed the state with sufficient success until his death in 1857. The succession was then again disputed, and disturbances took place which were suppressed by an armed British force. The state is still governed by its hereditary ruler, who has been granted the privilege of adoption. (N. W. P. Gazetteer, vol. i, p. 410, s.v. Datiyā.)

distressing and offensive ; for he can hardly ever help feeling that they must think him a mere child before they could venture to treat him with it. This is, however, to put too harsh a construction upon what, in reality, the people mean only as civility ; and they, who can so easily consider the grandfathers of their chiefs as gods, and worship them as such, may be suffered to treat *us* as heroes and sayers of good things without offence.¹

We ascended to the summit of the old palace, and were well repaid for the trouble by the view of an extremely rich sheet of wheat, gram, and other spring crops, extending to the north and east, as far as the eye could reach, from the dark belt of forest, three miles deep, with which the Rājā has surrounded his capital on every side as hunting grounds. The lands comprised in this forest are, for the most part, exceedingly poor, and water for irrigation is unattainable within them, so that little is lost by this taste of the chief for the sports of the field, in which, however, he cannot himself now indulge.

On the 19th² we left Dativā, and, after emerging from the surrounding forest, came over a fine plain covered with rich spring crops for ten miles, till we entered among the ravines of the river Sindh, whose banks are, like those of all rivers in this part of India, bordered to a great distance by these deep and ugly inequalities. Here they are almost without grass or shrubs to clothe their hideous nakedness, and have been formed by the torrents, which, in the season of the rains, rush from the extensive plain, as from a wide ocean, down to the deep channel of the river in narrow streams. These streams cut their way easily through the soft alluvial soil, which must once have formed the bed of

¹ The fact is that all Oriental rulers thoroughly enjoy the most outrageous flattery, and would feel defrauded if they did not get it in abundance. Even Akbar, the greatest of them all, could enjoy it, and allow the courtly poet to say "See Akbar, and you see God." Natives find it difficult to believe that European officials really dislike attentions which are exacted by rulers of their own races.

² December, 1835.

a vast lake.¹ On coming through the forest, before sunrise we discovered our error of the day before, for we found excellent deer-shooting in the long grass and brushwood, which grow luxuriantly at some distance from the city. Had we come out a couple of miles the day before, we might have had noble sport, and really required the *forbearance and humanity* to which we had so magnanimously resolved to sacrifice our "pride of art" as sportsmen; for we saw many herds of the nilgāi, antelope, and spotted deer,² browsing within a few paces of us, within the long grass and brushwood on both sides of the road. We could not stay, however, to indulge in much sport, having a long march before us.

¹ This theory is probably incorrect. See *ante*, p. 114, note 3, on formation of black soil.

² Nilgāi, or "blue-bull," a huge, heavy antelope of bovine form, common in India, scientifically named *Portax pictus*. By "antelope" the author means the common antelope, or black buck, the *Antelope bezoartica*, or *cervicapra* of naturalists. The spotted deer, or "chital," a very handsome creature, is the *Axis maculata* of Gray, the *Cervus axis* of other zoologists.



CHAPTER XXXIII

“ Bhūmiāwat.”

THOUGH, no doubt, very familiar to our ancestors during the middle ages, this is a thing happily but little understood in Europe at the present day. “ Bhūmiāwat,” in Bundēl-khand, signifies a war or fight for landed inheritance, from “ bhūm,” the land, earth, &c. ; “ bhūmia,” a landed proprietor.

When a member of the landed aristocracy, no matter how small, has a dispute with his ruler, he collects his followers, and levies indiscriminate war upon his territories, plundering and burning his towns and villages, and murdering their inhabitants till he is invited back upon his own terms. During this war it is a point of honour not to allow a single acre of land to be tilled upon the estate which he has deserted, or from which he has been driven ; and he will murder any man who attempts to drive a plough in it, together with all his family, if he can. The smallest member of this landed aristocracy of the Hindoo military class will often cause a terrible devastation during the interval that he is engaged in his bhūmiāwat ; for there are always vast numbers of loose characters floating upon the surface of Indian society, ready to “ gird up their loins ” and use their sharp swords in the service of marauders of this kind, when they cannot get employment in that of the constituted authorities of government.

Such a marauder has generally the sympathy of nearly all the members of his own class and clan, who are apt to think that his case may one day be their own. He is thus

looked upon as contending for the interests of all ; and, if his chief happens to be on bad terms with other chiefs in the neighbourhood, the latter will clandestinely support the outlaw and his cause, by giving him and his followers shelter in the hills and jungles, and concealing their families and stolen property in their castles. It is a maxim in India, and, in the less settled parts of it, a very true one, that “one Pindhāra or robber makes a hundred” ; that is, where one robber, by a series of atrocious murders and robberies, frightens the people into non-resistance, a hundred loose characters from among the peasantry of the country will take advantage of the occasion, and adopt his name, in order to plunder with the smallest possible degree of personal risk to themselves.

Some magistrates and local rulers, under such circumstances, have very unwisely adopted the measure of prohibiting the people from carrying or having arms in their houses, the very thing which, above all others, such robbers most wish ; for they know, though such magistrates and rulers do not, that it is the innocent only, and the friends to order, who will obey the command. The robber will always be able to conceal his arms, or keep with them out of reach of the magistrate ; and he is now relieved altogether from the salutary dread of a shot from a door or window. He may rob at his leisure, or sit down like a gentleman, and have all that the people of the surrounding towns and villages possess brought to him, for no man can any longer attempt to defend himself or his family.¹

¹ Since the author's time conditions have much changed. Then, and for long afterwards, up to the mutiny, every village throughout the country was full of arms, and almost every man was armed. Consequently, in those tracts where the mutiny of the native army was accompanied by popular insurrection, the flame of rebellion burned fiercely, and was subdued with difficulty. The painful experience of 1857 and 1858 proved the necessity of general disarmament, and nearly the whole of British India has been disarmed under the provisions of a series of acts. Licenses to have and carry ordinary arms and ammunition are granted by the magistrates of districts. Licenses to possess

Weak governments are obliged soon to invite back the robber on his own terms, for the people can pay them no revenue, being prevented from cultivating their lands, and obliged to give all they have to the robbers, or submit to be plundered of it. Jhānsī and Jālaun are exceedingly weak governments, from having their territories studded with estates held rent-free, or at a quit-rent, by Pawār, Bundēla, and Dhandēl barons, who have always the sympathy of the numerous chiefs and their barons of the same class around.

In the year 1832, the Pawār barons of the estates of Noner, Jignī, Udgāon, and Bilharī in Jhānsī had some cause of dissatisfaction with their chief; and this they presented to Lord William Bentinck as he passed through the province in December. His lordship told them that these were questions of internal administration which they must settle among themselves, as the Supreme Government would not interfere. They had, therefore, only one way of settling such disputes, and that was to raise the standard of bhūmiāwat, and cry, "To your tents, O Israel!" This they did; and, though the Jhānsī chief had a military force of twelve thousand men, they burnt down every town and village in the territory that did not come into their terms; and the chief had possession of only two, Jhānsī, the capital, and the large commercial town of Mau,¹ when the Bundēla

artillery are granted only by the Governor-General in Council. The improved organization of the police and of the executive power generally renders possible the strict enforcement of the law. Some arms are concealed, but very few of these are serviceable. With rare exceptions, arms are now carried only for display, and knowledge of the use of weapons has died out in most classes of the population. The village forts have been everywhere dismantled. Robbery by armed gangs still occurs in certain districts (*see ante*, note 2, p. 178), but is much less frequent than it used to be sixty years ago.

¹ Many towns and villages bear the name of Mau (*anglicè*, Mhow), which is probably, as Mr. Growse suggests, a form of the Sanskrit *mahi*, "land" or "ground." The town referred to in the text is the principal town of the Jhānsī district, distinguished from its homonyms as Mau-Rānīpur, situated about east-south-east from Jhānsī, at a dis-

Rājas of Orchhā and Datiyā, who had hitherto clandestinely supported the insurgents, consented to become the arbiters. A suspension of arms followed, the barons got all they demanded, and the bhūmiāwat ceased. But the Jhānsī chief, who had hitherto lent large sums to the other chiefs in the province, was reduced to the necessity of borrowing from them all, and from Gwālīor, and mortgaging to them a good portion of his lands.¹

Gwālīor is itself weak in the same way. A great portion of its lands are held by barons of the Hindoo military classes, equally addicted to bhūmiāwat, and one or more of them is always engaged in this kind of indiscriminate warfare; and it must be confessed that, unless they are always considered to be ready to engage in it, they have very little chance of retaining their possessions on moderate terms, for these weak governments are generally the most rapacious when they have it in their power.

A good deal of the lands of the Muhammadan sovereign of Oudh are, in the same manner, held by barons of the Rājput tribe; and some of them are almost always in the field engaged in the same kind of warfare against their sovereign. The baron who pursues it with vigour is almost sure to be invited back upon his own terms very soon. If his lands are worth a hundred thousand a year, he will get them for ten; and have this remitted for the next five years, until he is ready for another bhūmiāwat, on the ground of the injuries sustained during the last, from which his estate has to recover. The baron who is peaceable and obedient soon gets rack-rented out of his estate, and reduced to beggary.²

tance of forty miles from that city. Its special export is the "kharwā" cloth, dyed with "āl" (*see ante*, p. 277).

¹ This insurrection continued into the year 1833. "The inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress, and have, even to the present day, scarcely recovered the losses they then sustained." (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. i, p. 296. The *Gazetteer* was published in 1870.)

² *See the author's Journey through the Kingdom of Oude, passim.*

In 1818, some companies of my regiment were for several months employed in Oudh, after a young "bhūmiāwati" of this kind, Sheo Ratan Singh. He was the nephew and heir of the Rājā of Partābgarh,¹ who wished to exclude him from his inheritance by the adoption of a brother of his young bride. Sheo Ratan had a small village for his maintenance, and said nothing to his old uncle till the governor of the province, Ghulām Husain, accepted an invitation to be present at the ceremony of adoption. He knew that, if he acquiesced any longer, he would lose his inheritance, and cried, "To your tents, O Israel!" He got a small band of three hundred Rājput, with nothing but their swords, shields, and spears, to follow him, all of the same clan and true men. They were bivouacked in a jungle not more than seven miles from our cantonments at Partābgarh, when Ghulām Husain marched to attack them with three regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and two nine-pounders. He thought he should surprise them, and contrived so that he should come upon them about daybreak. Sheo Ratan knew all his plans. He placed one hundred and fifty of his men in ambuscade at the entrance to the jungle, and kept the other hundred and fifty by him in the centre. When they had got well in, the party in ambush rushed upon the rear, while he attacked them in front. After a short resistance, Ghulām Husain's force took to flight, leaving five hundred men dead on the field, and their two guns behind them. Ghulām Husain was so ashamed of the drubbing he got that he bribed all the news-writers² within

¹ Partābgarh is now a separate district in the Fyzābād Division of Oudh. The chief town, also called Partābgarh, is thirty-two miles north of Allahabad, and still possesses a Rājā. Further details about the Partābgarh family are given in the *Journey*, vol. i, p. 231.

² "The news department is under a Superintendent-General, who has sometimes contracted for it, as for the revenues of a district, but more commonly holds it in *āmānī*, as a manager. . . . He nominates his subordinates, and appoints them to their several offices, taking from each a present gratuity and a pledge for such monthly payments as he thinks the post will enable him to make. They receive from

twenty miles of the place, to say nothing about it in their reports to court, and he never made any report of it himself. A detachment of my regiment passed over the dead bodies in the course of the day, on their return to cantonments from detached command, or we should have known nothing about it. It is true, we heard the firing, but that we heard every day ; and I have seen from my bungalow half a dozen villages in flames, at the same time, from this species of contest between the Rājput landholders and the government authorities. Our cantonments were generally full of the women and children who had been burnt out of house and home.

four to fifteen rupees a month each, and have each to pay to their President, for distribution among his patrons or patronesses at Court, from one hundred to five hundred rupees a month in ordinary times. Those to whom they are accredited have to pay them, under ordinary circumstances, certain sums monthly, to prevent their inventing or exaggerating cases of abuse of power or neglect of duty on their part ; but, when they happen to be really guilty of great acts of atrocity, or great neglect of duty, they are required to pay extraordinary sums, not only to the news-writers, who are especially accredited to them, but to all others who happen to be in the neighbourhood at the time. There are six hundred and sixty news-writers of this kind employed by the king, and paid monthly three thousand one hundred and ninety-four rupees, or, on an average, between four and five rupees each ; and the sums paid by them to their President for distribution among influential officers and Court favourites averages [*sic*] above one hundred and fifty thousand rupees a year. . . . Such are the reporters of the circumstances in all the cases on which the sovereign and his ministers have to pass orders every day in Oudh. . . . The European magistrate of one of our neighbouring districts one day, before the Oudh Frontier Police was raised, entered the Oudh territory at the head of his police in pursuit of some robbers, who had found an asylum in one of the King's villages. In the attempt to secure them some lives were lost : and, apprehensive of the consequences, he sent for the official news-writer, and gratified him in the usual way. No report of the circumstances was made to the Oudh Darbār ; and neither the King, the Resident, nor the British Government ever heard anything about it." (*Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, vol. i, p.p. 67-69.) Such a system of official news-writers is usually maintained by Oriental despots.

In Oudh such contests generally begin with the harvests. During the season of tillage all is quiet; but, when the crops begin to ripen, the governor begins to rise in his demands for revenue, and the Rājput landholders and cultivators to sharpen their swords and burnish their spears. One hundred of them always consider themselves a match for one thousand of the king's troops in a fair field, because they have all one heart and soul, while the king's troops have many.¹

While the Pawārs were ravaging the Jhānsī state with their bhūmiāwat, a merchant of Sāgar had a large convoy of valuable cloths, to the amount, I think, of forty thousand rupees,² intercepted by them on its way from Mirzāpur³ to Rājputāna. I was then at Sāgar, and wrote off to the insurgents to say that they had mistaken one of our subjects for one of the Jhānsī chief's, and must release the convoy. They did so, and not a piece of the cloth was lost. This bhūmiāwat is supposed to have cost the Jhānsī chief above twenty lākhs of rupees,⁴ and his subjects double that sum.

Gopāl Singh, a Bundēla, who had been in the service of the chief of Pannā,⁵ took to bhūmiāwat in 1809, and kept a large British force employed in pursuit through Bundēlkhand and the Sāgar territories for three years, till

¹ Full details of the rotten state of the king's army are given in the *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*.

² Then worth £4,000, or more.

³ Mirzāpur (Mirzapore) on the Ganges, twenty-seven miles from Benares, was, in the author's time, the principal depôt for the cotton and cloth trade of Northern India. Although the East Indian Railway passes through the city, the construction of the railway has diverted the bulk of the trade from Mirzāpur, which is now a declining place. The carpets made there are well known.

⁴ Then equal to £200,000, or more.

⁵ The Pannā State lies between the British districts of Bāndā, in the North-Western Provinces, on the north, and Damoh and Jabalpur, in the Central Provinces, on the south. The chief is a descendant of Chhatarsāl. For description and engraving of the diamond mines see *Economic Geology*, page 39.

he was invited back by our government in the year 1812, by the gift of a fine estate on the banks of the Dasān river, yielding twenty thousand rupees¹ a year, which his son now enjoys, and which is to descend to his posterity, many of whom will, no doubt, animated by their fortunate ancestor's example, take to the same trade. He had been a man of no note till he took to this trade, but by his predatory exploits he soon became celebrated throughout India ; and, when I came to the country, no other man's chivalry was so much talked of.

A Bundēla, or other landholder of the Hindoo military class, does not think himself, nor is he indeed thought by others, in the slightest degree less respectable for having waged this indiscriminate war upon the innocent and un-offending, provided he has any cause of dissatisfaction with his liege lord ; that is, provided he cannot get his land or his appointment in his service upon his own terms, because all others of the same class and clan feel more or less interested in his success.

They feel that their tenure of land, or of office, is improved by the mischief he does ; because every peasant he murders, and every field he throws out of tillage, affects their liege lord in his most tender point, his treasury ; and indisposes him to interfere with their salaries, their privileges, or their rents. He who wages this war goes on marrying his sisters or his daughters to the other barons or landholders of the same clan, and receiving theirs in marriage during the whole of his bhūmiāwat,² as if nothing at all extraordinary had happened, and thereby strengthening his hand at the game he is playing.

Umrāo Singh of Jaklōn in Chandērī, a district of Gwālīor bordering upon Sāgar,³ has been at this game for more

¹ Then equivalent to two thousand pounds, or more.

² The words " of the same clan " are inexact. The author has shown (*ante*, p.p. 176, 228) that Rājputs never marry into their own clan.

³ The Rājā of Chandērī belonged to the same family as the Orchhā chief. Sindhia annexed a great part of the Chandērī State in 1811.

than fifteen years out of twenty, but his alliances among the baronial families around have not been in the slightest degree affected by it. His sons and his grandsons have, perhaps, made better matches than they might, had the old man been at peace with all the world, during the time that he has been desolating one district by his atrocities, and demoralizing all those around it by his example, and by inviting the youth to join him occasionally in his murderous enterprises. Neither age nor sex is respected in their attacks upon towns or villages; and no Muhammadan can take more pride and pleasure in defacing idols—the most monstrous idol—than a “bhūmiawati” takes in maiming an innocent peasant, who presumes to drive his plough in lands that he chooses to put under the *ban*.

In the kingdom of Oudh this bhūmiāwat is a kind of nursery for our native army; for the sons of Rājput yeomen who have been trained in it are all exceedingly anxious to enlist in our native infantry regiments, having no dislike to their drill or their uniform. The same class of men in Bundēlkhand and the Gwālīor state have a great horror of the drill and uniform of our regular infantry, and nothing can induce them to enlist in our ranks. Both are equally brave, and equally faithful to their salt, that is, to the person who employs them; but the Oudh Rājput is a much more tameable animal than the Bundēla. In Oudh this class of people have all inherited from their fathers a respect for our rule and a love for our service. In Bundēlkhand they have not yet become reconciled to our service, and they still look upon our rule as interfering a good deal too much with their sporting propensities.¹

Chandēri was for a time British territory, but is now again in Sindhia's dominions. Its vicissitudes are related in *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. i, p.p. 351-358.

¹ In Oudh the misgovernment, anarchy, and cruel rapine, briefly alluded to in the text, and vividly described in detail by the author in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, lasted until the annexation of the kingdom by Lord Dālhousie in 1856, and, after a brief lull, were renewed during the insurrection of 1857 and 1858. The events

of those years are a curious commentary on the author's belief that the people of Oudh entertained "a respect for our rule and a love for our service." The service of the British government is sought because it pays, but a foreign government must not expect love. Respect for the British rule depends upon the strength of that rule. Oudh still sends many recruits to the native army, though the young men no longer enjoy the advantage of a training in "bhūmiāwat." An occasional gang-robbery or bludgeon fight is the meagre modern substitute. The Rājput̥s or Thākurs of Bundēlkhand and Gwālīor still retain their old character for turbulence, but, of course, have less scope for what the author calls their "sporting propensities" than they had in his time.



CHAPTER XXXIV

The Suicide—Relations between Parents and Children in India.

THE day before we left Dativā our cook had a violent dispute with his mother, a thing of almost daily occurrence ; for, though a very fat and handsome old lady, she was a very violent one. He was a quiet man, but, unable to bear any longer the abuse she was heaping upon him, he first took up a pitcher of water and flung it at her head. It missed her, and he then snatched up a stick, and, for the first time in his life, struck her. He was her only son. She quietly took up all her things, and, walking off towards a temple, said she would leave him for ever ; and he, having passed the Rubicon, declared that he was resolved no longer to submit to the parental tyranny which she had hitherto exercised over him. My water carrier, however, prevailed upon her with much difficulty to return, and take up her quarters with him and his wife and five children in a small tent we had given them. Maddened at the thought of a blow from her only son, the old lady about sunset swallowed a large quantity of opium ; and, before the circumstance was discovered, it was too late to apply a remedy. We were told of it about eight o'clock at night, and found her lying in her son's arms—tried every remedy at hand, but without success, and about midnight she died. She loved her son, and he respected her ; and yet not a day passed without their having some desperate quarrel, generally about the orphan daughter of her brother, who lived with them, and was to be married, as soon as the cook could save out of his pay enough money to defray the expenses

of the ceremonies. The old woman was always reproaching him for not saving money fast enough. This little cousin had now stolen some of the cook's tobacco for his young assistant; and the old lady thought it right to admonish her. The cook likewise thought it right to add his admonitions to those of his mother; but the old lady would have her niece abused by nobody but herself, and she flew into a violent passion at his presuming to interfere. This led to the son's outrage, and the mother's suicide. The son is a mild, good-tempered young man, who bears an excellent character among his equals, and is a very good servant. Had he been less mild, it had perhaps been better; for his mother would by degrees have given up that despotic sway over her child, which in infancy is necessary, in youth useful, but in manhood becomes intolerable. "God defend us from the *anger* of the mild in spirit," said an excellent judge of human nature, Muhammad, the founder of this cook's religion;¹ and certainly the mildest tempers are those which become the most ungovernable when roused beyond a certain degree; and the proud spirit of the old woman could not brook the outrage which her son, so roused, had been guilty of. From the time that she was discovered to have taken poison till she breathed her last she lay in the arms of the poor man, who besought her to live, that her only son might atone for his crime, and not be a parricide.

There is no part of the world, I believe, where parents are so much revered by their sons as they are in India, in all classes of society. This is sufficiently evinced in the desire that parents feel to have sons. The duty of daughters is from the day of their marriage transferred entirely to their husbands and their husband's parents, on whom alone devolves the duty of protecting and supporting them.

¹ The editor has failed to trace this quotation, which may possibly be from the *Mishkāt-ul-Masābih* (*ante*, chapter v, p. 42, note 3). Compare "'There is nothing more horrible than the rebellion of a sheep,' said de Marsay." (Balzac, *Lost by a Laugh*.)

through the wedded and the widowed state. The links that united them to their parents are broken. All the reciprocity of rights and duties which have bound together the parent and child from infancy is considered to end with the consummation of her marriage; nor does the stain of any subsequent female backsliding ever affect the family of her parents; it can affect that only of her husband, who is held alone responsible for her conduct. If a widow inherits the property of her husband, on her death the property would go to her husband's brother, supposing neither had any children by their husbands, in preference to her own brother; but between the son and his parents this reciprocity of rights and duties follows them to the grave.¹ One is delighted to see in sons this habitual reverence for the mother; but, as in the present case, it is too apt to occasion a domineering spirit, which produces much mischief even in private families, but still more in sovereign ones. A prince, when he attains the age of manhood, and ought to take upon himself the duties of the government, is often obliged to witness a great deal of oppression and misrule, from his inability to persuade his widowed mother to resign the power willingly into his hands. He often tamely submits to see his country ruined, and his family dishonoured, as at Jhānsī, before he can bring himself, by some act of desperate resolution, to wrest it from her grasp.² In order to prevent his doing so, or to recover the reins he has thus obtained, the mother has often been known to poison her own son; and many a princess in India, like Isabella of England,³ has, I believe, destroyed her husband, to enjoy more freely the society of her paramour, and hold these reins during the minority of her son.

¹ The English doggerel expresses the opposite sentiment,

“My son is my son till he gets a wife;
My daughter is my daughter all her life.”

² *Ante*, chapter xxix, p.p. 256, 261.

³ Edward II., A.D. 1327.



In the exercise of dominion from behind the curtain (for it is those who live behind the curtain that seem most anxious to hold it), women select ministers, who, to secure duration to their influence, become their paramours, or, at least, make the world believe that they are so, to serve their own selfish purposes. The sons are tyrannized over through youth by their mothers, who endeavour to subdue their spirit to the yoke, which they wish to bind heavy upon their necks for life; and they remain through manhood timid, ignorant, and altogether unfitted for the conduct of public affairs, and for the government of men under a despotic rule, whose essential principle is a *salutary fear* of the prince in all his public officers. Every unlettered native of India is as sensible of this principle as Montesquieu was; and will tell us that, in countries like India, a chief, to govern well, must have a *smack of the devil* ("shaitān") in him; for, if he has not, his public servants will prey upon his innocent and industrious subjects.¹ In India there are no universities or public schools, in which young men might escape, as they do in Europe, from the enervating and stultifying influence of the *zanāna*.² The state of

¹ The principle, so bluntly enunciated by the author, is true, though the truth may be unpalatable to some people who think they know better, and it applies with as much force to European officials as it does to native princes. The "shaitān" is more familiar in his English dress as Satan. The editor has failed to find any such phrase in the works of Montesquieu. In chapter ix. of Book III. of "*L'Esprit des Lois*" that author lays down the principle that "*il faut de la crainte dans un gouvernement despotique; pour la vertu, elle n'y est point nécessaire.*"

² It can no longer be said that universities do not exist, at least in name, in India. Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Allahabad are the seats of universities, which are mere examining bodies, constituted chiefly on the model of the University of London. These institutions are not frequented by young princes and nobles, and have little influence on their education. Attempts have been made, with partial success, to provide special boarding schools for the sons of ruling princes and native nobles. The most notable of such institutions are the Colleges at Ajmir and Indore. The influence of the *zanāna* is invariably directed against every proposal to remove a young nobleman

mental imbecility to which a youth of naturally average powers of mind, born to territorial dominion, is in India often reduced by a haughty and ambitious mother, would be absolutely incredible to a man bred up in such schools. They are often utterly unable to act, think, or speak for themselves. If they happen, as they sometimes do, to get well informed in reading and conversation, they remain, Hamlet-like, nervous and diffident ; and, however speculatively or *reflectively* wise, quite unfit for action, or for performing their part in the great drama of life.

In my evening ramble on the bank of the river, which was flowing against the wind, and rising into waves, my mind wandered back to the hours of infancy and boyhood when I sat with my brothers watching our little vessels as they scudded over the ponds and streams of my native land ; and then of my poor brothers John and Louis, whose bones now lie beneath the ocean. As we advance in age the dearest scenes of early days must necessarily become more and more associated in our recollection with painful feelings ; for they who enjoyed such scenes with us must by degrees pass away, and be remembered with sorrow even by those who are conscious of having fulfilled all their duties in life towards them—but with how much more by those who can never remember them without thinking of occasions of kindness and assistance neglected or disregarded. Many of them have perhaps left behind them widows and children struggling with adversity, and soliciting from us aid which we strive in vain to give.

During my visit to the Rājā, a person in the disguise of one of my sipāhīs¹ went to a shop and purchased for me five and twenty rupees' worth of fine Europe chintz, for which he paid in good rupees, which were forthwith assayed from home for the purpose of education, and obstacles of many kinds render the task of rightly educating such a youth extraordinarily difficult and unsatisfactory. In some cases a considerable degree of success has been attained.

¹ Armed follower. The word is more familiar in the corrupt form "sepoys."

by a neighbouring goldsmith. The sipāhī put these rupees into his own purse, and laid it down, saying that he should go and ascertain from me whether I wished to keep the whole of the chintz or not ; and, if not, he should require back the same money—that I was to halt to-morrow, when he would return to the shop again. Just as he was going away, however, he recollected that he wanted a turban for himself, and requested the shopkeeper to bring him one. They were sitting in the verandah, and the shopkeeper had to go into his shop to bring out the turban. When he came out with it, the sipāhī said it would not suit his purpose, and went off, leaving the purse where it lay, cautioning the shopkeeper against changing any of the rupees, as he should require his own identical money back if his master rejected any of the chintz. The shopkeeper waited till four o'clock in the afternoon of the next day without looking into the purse.

Hearing then that I had left Ditiyā, and seeing no signs of the sipāhī, he opened the purse, and found that the rupees were all copper, with a thin coating of silver. The man had changed them while he went into the shop for a turban, and substituted a purse exactly the same in appearance. After ascertaining that the story was true, and that the ingenious thief was not one of my followers, I insisted upon the man's taking the money from me, in spite of a great deal of remonstrance on the part of the Rājā's agent, who had come on with us.



CHAPTER XXXV

Gwālīor Plain once the Bed of a Lake—Tameness of Peacocks.

ON the 19th, 20th, and 21st¹ we came on forty miles to the village of Antrī in the Gwālīor territory, over a fine plain of rich alluvial soil under spring crops. This plain bears manifest signs of having been at no very remote period, like the kingdom of Bohemia, the bed of a vast lake bounded by the ranges of sandstone hills which now seem to skirt the horizon all round; and studded with innumerable islands of all shapes and sizes, which now rise abruptly in all directions out of the cultivated plain.² The plain is still like the unruffled surface of a vast lake; and the rich green of the spring crops, which cover the surface in one wide sheet unintersected by hedges, tends to keep up the illusion, which the rivers have little tendency to dispel; for, though they have cut their way down immense depths to their present beds through this soft alluvial deposit, the traveller no sooner emerges from the hideous ravines, which disfigure their banks, than he loses all trace of them. Their course is unmarked by trees, large shrubs, or any of the signs which mark the course of rivers in other quarters.

The soil over the vast plain is everywhere of good quality, and everywhere cultivated, or rather worked, for we can hardly consider a soil cultivated which is never either irrigated or manured, or voluntarily relieved by fallows or an alternation of crops, till it has descended to the last

¹ December, 1835.

² The author's favourite theory. See *ante*, p.p. 115, 183, on the formation of black cotton soil. The Gwālīor plain is covered with this soil.

stage of exhaustion. The prince rack-rents the farmer, the farmer rack-rents the cultivator, and the cultivator rack-rents the soil. Soon after crossing the Sindh river we enter upon the territories of the Gwālīor chief, Sindhia.

The villages are everywhere few, and their communities very small. The greater part of the produce goes for sale to the capital of Gwālīor, when the money it brings is paid into the treasury in rent, or revenue, to the chief, who distributes it in salaries among his establishments, who again pay it for land produce to the cultivators, farmers, and agricultural capitalists, who again pay it back into the treasury in land revenue. No more people reside in the villages than are absolutely necessary to the cultivation of the land, because the chief takes all the produce beyond what is necessary for their bare subsistence; and, out of what he takes, maintains establishments that reside elsewhere. There is nowhere any jungle to be seen, and very few of the villages that are scattered over the plains have any fruit or ornamental trees left; and, when the spring crops, to which the tillage is chiefly confined, are taken off the ground, the face of the country must have a very naked and dreary appearance.¹ Near one village on the road I saw some men threshing corn in a field, and among them a peacock (which, of course, I took to be domesticated) breakfasting very comfortably upon the grain as it flew around him. A little farther on I saw another quietly working his way into a stack of corn, as if he understood it to have been made for his use alone. It was so close to me as I passed that I put out my stick to push it off in play, and, to my surprise, it flew off in a fright at my white face and strange dress, and was followed by the others. I found that they were all wild, if that term can be applied to birds that live on such excellent terms with mankind. On reaching our tents we found several feeding in the corn-fields close around them, undisturbed by our host of

¹ It has a very desolate appearance. The Indian Midland Railway now passes through Gwālīor.

camp-followers ; and were told by the villagers, who had assembled to greet us, that they were all wild. "Why," said they, "should we think of *keeping* birds that live among us on such easy terms without being *kept* ?" I asked whether they ever shot them, and was told that they never killed or molested them, but that any one who wished to shoot them might do so, since they had here no religious regard for them.¹ Like the pariah dogs, the peacocks seem to disarm the people by confiding in them—their tameness is at once the cause and the effect of their security. The members of the little communities among whom they live on such friendly terms would not have the heart to shoot them ; and travellers either take them to be domesticated, or are at once disarmed by their tameness.

At Antrī a sufficient quantity of salt is manufactured for the consumption of the people of the town. The earth that contains most salt is dug up at some distance from the town, and brought to small reservoirs made close outside the walls. Water is here poured over it, as over tea and coffee. Passing through the earth, it flows out below into a small conduit, which takes it to small pits some yards' distance, whence it is removed in buckets to small enclosed platforms, where it is exposed to the sun's rays, till the water evaporates, and leaves the salt dry.² The want of trees over this vast plain of fine soil from the Sindh river is quite lamentable. The people of Antrī pointed out the place close to my tents where a beautiful grove of mango-

¹ In many parts of India, especially in Mathurā (Muttra), on the Jumna, and the neighbouring districts, the peacock is held strictly sacred, and shooting one would be likely to cause a riot. Tavernier relates a story of a rich Persian merchant being beaten to death by the Hindoos of Guzerāt for shooting a peacock. (Ball's *Tavernier*, vol. i, p. 70.) The bird is regarded as the vehicle of the Hindoo god of war, variously called Kumāra, Skanda, or Kārtikeya. The editor, like the author, has observed that in Bundēlkhand no objection is raised to the shooting of peacocks by any one who cares for such poor sport.

² In British India the manufacture of salt is a Government monopoly, and can only be practised by persons duly licensed.

trees had been lately taken off to Gwālior for *gun-carriages* and firewood, in spite of all the proprietor could urge of the detriment to his own interest in this world, and to those of his ancestors in that to which they had gone. Wherever the army of this chief moved they invariably swept off the groves of fruit-trees in the same reckless manner. Parts of the country, which they merely passed through, have recovered their trees, because the desire to propitiate the Deity, and to perpetuate their name by such a work will always operate among Hindoos as a sufficient incentive to secure groves, wherever man can be made to feel that their rights of property in the trees will be respected.¹ The lands around the village, which had a well for irrigation, paid four times as much as those of the same quality which had none, and were made to yield two crops in the year. As everywhere else, so here, those lands into which water flows from the town, and can be made to stand for a time, are esteemed the best, as this water brings down with it manures of all kinds.² I had a good deal of talk with the cultivators as I walked through the fields in the evenings; and they seemed to dwell much upon the good faith which is observed by the farmers and cultivators in the Honourable Company's territories, and the total absence of it in those of Sindhia's, where no work, requiring an outlay of capital from the land, is, in consequence, ever thought of—both farmers and cultivators engaging from year to year, and no farmer ever feeling secure of his lease for more than one.

¹ The Revenue Settlement Regulations now in force in British India provide liberally for the encouragement of groves, and hundreds of miles of road also are annually planted with trees.

² Sanitation did not trouble native states in those days.



CHAPTER XXXVI

Gwālior and its Government

ON the 22nd,¹ we came on fourteen miles to Gwālior, over some ranges of sandstone hills, which are seemingly continuations of the Vindhyan range. Hills of indurated brown and red iron clay repose upon and intervene between these ranges, with strata generally horizontal, but occasionally bearing signs of having been shaken by internal convulsions. These convulsions are also indicated by some dykes of compact basalt which cross the road.²

Nothing can be more unprepossessing than the approach to Gwālior; the hills being naked, black, and ugly, with rounded tops devoid of grass or shrubs, and the soil of the valleys a poor red dust without any appearance of verdure or vegetation, since the few autumn crops that lately stood upon them have been removed.³ From Antrī to Gwālior there is no sign of any human habitation, save that of a miserable police guard of four or five, who occupy a wretched hut on the side of the road midway, and seem by their

¹ December, 1835.

² "Throughout the northern edge of the trap country in Rājputāna, Gwālior, and Bundēlkhand, dykes are rare or wanting." (Mr. W. T. Blandford, in *Manual of the Geology of India*, Part I, p. 328.) The dykes mentioned in the text may not have been visited by the officers of the Geological Survey.

³ "Basalt generally disintegrates into a reddish soil, quite different from *regar* in character. This reddish soil may be seen passing into *regar*, but, as a rule, the black soil is confined to the flatter ground at the bottom of the valleys, or on flat hill tops, the brown or red soils occupying the slopes." (*Ibid.* p. 433.)

presence to render the scene around more dreary.¹ The road is a mere footpath unimproved and unadorned by any single work of art ; and, except in this footpath, and the small police guard, there is absolutely no single sign in all this long march to indicate the dominion, or even the presence, of man ; and yet it is between two contiguous [*sic*] capitals, one occupied by one of the most ancient, and the other by one of the greatest native sovereigns of Hindustan.² One cannot but feel that he approaches the capital of a dynasty of barbarian princes, who, like Attila, would choose their places of residence, as devils choose their pandemonia, for their ugliness, and rather reside in the dreary wastes of Tartary than on the shores of the Bosphorus. There are within the dominions of Sindhia seats for a capital that would not yield to any in India in convenience, beauty, and salubrity ; but, in all these dominions, there is not, perhaps, another place so hideously ugly as Gwālīor, or so hot and unhealthy. It has not one redeeming quality that should recommend it to the choice of a rational prince, particularly to one who still considers his capital as his camp, and makes every officer of his army feel that he has as little of permanent interest in his house as he would have in his tent.³

Phūl Bāgh, or the *flower-garden*, was suggested to me as the best place for my tents, where Sindhia had built a

¹ Johnson, in his *Journey to the Western Islands*, observes : " Now and then we espied a little corn-field, which served to impress more strongly the general barrenness." [W. H. S.] The remark referred to the shores of Loch Ness (page 237 of volume 8 of Johnson's Works, London, 1820).

² By this awkward phrase the author seems to mean Lucknow, on the east, the capital of the kingdom of Oudh, and Udaipur, to the west, the capital of the long-descended chieftain of Mēwār.

³ The new city at Gwālīor below the fortress is, like the city of Jhānsī, known as the " Lashkar," or camp. The old city of Gwālīor encircles the north end of the fortress. The new city, or Lashkar, lies to the south, more than a mile distant. In January, 1859, the population of the two cities together amounted to 142,044 persons. *Archæol. Survey Reports*, vol. ii, p. 331.)

splendid summer-house. As I came over this most gloomy and uninteresting march, in which the heart of a rational man sickens, as he recollects that all the revenues of such an enormous extent of dominion over the richest soil and the most peaceable people in the world should have been so long concentrated upon this point, and squandered without leaving one sign of human art or industry, I looked forward with pleasure to a quiet residence in the *flower-garden*, with good foliage above, and a fine sward below, and an atmosphere free from dust, such as we find in and around all the residences of Muhammadan princes. On reaching my tents I found them pitched close outside the *flower-garden*, in a small dusty plain, without a blade of grass or a shrub to hide its deformity—just such a place as the pig-keepers occupy in the suburbs of other towns. On one side of this little plain, and looking into it, was the *summer-house* of the prince, without one inch of green sward or one small shrub before it.

Around the wretched little *flower-garden* was a low, naked, and shattered mud wall, such as we generally see in the suburbs thrown up to keep out and in the pigs that usually swarm in such places—"and the swine they crawled out, and the swine they crawled in."¹ When I cantered up to my tent-door, a sipāhī of my guard came up, and reported that as the day began to dawn a gang of thieves had stolen one of my best carpets, all the brass brackets of my tent-poles, and the brass bell with which the sentries on duty sounded the hour; all Lieutenant Thomas' cooking utensils, and many other things, several of which they had found lying between the tents and the prince's *pleasure-house*, particularly the contents of a large heavy box of *geological specimens*. They had, in consequence, concluded the gang to be lodged in the prince's pleasure-house. The guard on duty at this place would make no answer to their

¹ Only those readers who have lived in India can fully understand the reasons why the pigs should frequent such a place, and how great would be the horrors of encamping in it.

inquiries, and I really believe that they were themselves the thieves. The tents of the Rājā of Raghugarh, who had come to pay his respects to the Sindhia, his liege lord, were pitched near mine. He had the day before had five horses stolen from him, with all the plate, jewels, and valuable clothes he possessed; and I was told that I must move forthwith from the *flower-garden*, or cut off the tail of every horse in my camp. Without tails they might not be stolen, with them they certainly would. Having had sufficient proof of their dexterity, we moved our tents to a grove near the residency, four miles from the flower-garden and the court.¹

As a citizen of the world I could not help thinking that it would be an immense blessing upon a large portion of our species if an earthquake were to swallow up this court of Gwālīor, and the army that surrounds it. Nothing worse could possibly succeed, and something better might. It is lamentable to think how much of evil this court and camp inflict upon the people who are subject to them. In January, 1828, I was passing with a party of gentlemen through the town of Bhīlsā, which belongs to this chief, and lies between Sāgar and Bhopāl,² when we found, lying

¹ In the description of the author's encampment at Gwālīor, he fell into a mistake, which he discovered too late for correction in his journal. His tents were not pitched within the Phūl Bāgh, as he supposed, but without; and seeing nothing of this place, he imagined that the dirty and naked ground outside was actually the flower-garden. The Phūl Bāgh, however, is a very pleasing and well-ordered garden, although so completely secluded from observation by lofty walls that many other travellers must have encamped on the same spot without being aware of its existence. (*Publishers' note at end of volume II. of original edition.*)

² Bhīlsā is the principal town of the Isāgarh subdivision in the Gwālīor State. The Buddhist antiquities near it are famous, and are described at length in Sir Alexander Cunningham's work, *The Bhīlsā Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India* (1854), and in General Maisey's work, *Sānchi and its Remains. A full Description of the Ancient Buildings, Sculptures, and Inscriptions at Sānchi, near Bhīlsā, in Central India.* With an Introductory Note by Major

and bleeding in one of the streets, twelve men belonging to a merchant at Mirzapore, who had the day before been wounded and plundered by a gang of robbers close outside the walls of the town. Those who were able ran in to the Amil, or chief of the district, who resides in the town; and begged him to send some horsemen after the banditti, and intercept them as they passed over the great plains. "Send your own people," said he, "or hire men to send. Am I here to look after the private affairs of merchants and travellers, or to collect the revenues of the prince?" Neither he, nor the prince himself, nor any other officer of the public establishments ever dreamed that it was their duty to protect the life, property, or character of travellers, or indeed of any other human beings, save the members of their own families. In this pithy question the Amil of Bhilsā described the nature and character of the government. All the revenues of his immense dominions are spent entirely in the maintenance of the court and camps of the prince; and every officer employed beyond the boundary of the court and camp considers his duties to be limited to the collection of the revenue. Protected from all external enemies by our military forces, which surround him on every side, his whole army is left to him for purposes of parade and display; and having, according to his notions, no use for them elsewhere, he concentrates them around his capital, where he lives among them in the perpetual dread of mutiny and assassination. He has nowhere any police, nor any establishment whatever, for the protection of the life and property of his subjects; nor has he, any more than his predecessors, ever, I believe, for one moment thought that those from whose industry and frugality he draws his revenues have any right whatever to expect from him the use of such establishments in return. They have never formed any

General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E. (1892). It is surprising that so keen an observer as the author appears not to have noticed any of the great Buddhist buildings of Central India.

legitimate part of the Marāthā government, and, I fear, never will.¹

The misrule of such states, situated in the midst of our dominions, is not without its use. There is, as Gibbon justly observes, “a strong propensity in human nature to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the present times ;” and, if the people had not before their eyes such specimens of native rule to contrast with ours, they would think more highly than they do of that of their past Muhammadan and Hindoo sovereigns ; and be much less disposed than they are to estimate fairly the advantages of being under ours. The native governments of the present day are fair specimens of what they have always been—grinding military despotisms—their whole history is that of “Saul has killed his thousands, and David his tens of thousands ;” as if rulers were made merely to slay, and the ruled to be slain. In politics, as in landscape, “’Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,” and the past might be all *couleur de rose* in the imaginations of the people were it not represented in these ill-governed states, where the “lucky accident” of a good governor is not to be expected in a century, and where the secret of the responsibility of ministers to the people is yet undiscovered.²

¹ The government of Gwālior has improved since the author wrote. The present Mahārāja is a minor. He was installed in succession to his father on the 3rd of July, 1886. During the minority the government is carried on by a Council of Regency, aided by the advice of the Resident, and many reforms have been begun and more or less fully executed. In May, 1887, the vast hoard of rupees buried in pits in the fort, valued at five millions sterling, was exhumed, and lent to the Government of India to be usefully employed. The passive opposition of a court like that of Gwālior to the effectual execution of reforms is continuous, and very difficult to overcome.

² The author’s description of the ordinary Oriental government at all times and in all places as “a grinding military despotism” is absolutely correct. Sentimental natives and their English sympathizers are apt to forget this weighty truth. The golden age of India is as mythical as that of Ireland. What Persia now is, that would India be, if she had been left to her own devices.

The fortress of Gwālior stands upon a table-land, a mile and a half long by a quarter of a mile wide, at the north-east end of a small insulated sandstone hill, running north-east and south-west, and rising at both ends about three hundred and forty feet above the level of the plain below. At the base is a kind of glacis, which runs up at an angle of forty-five from the plain to within fifty, and, in some places, within twenty feet of the foot of the wall.

The interval is the perpendicular face of the horizontal strata of the sandstone rock. The glacis is formed of a bed of basalt in all stages of decomposition, with which this, like the other sandstone hills of Central India, was once covered, and of the débris and chippings of the rocks above. The walls are raised a certain uniform height all round upon the verge of the precipice, and being thus made to correspond with the edge of the rock, the line is extremely irregular. They are rudely built of the fine sandstone of the rock on which they stand, and have some square and some semi-circular bastions of different sizes, few of these raised above the level of the wall itself.¹ On

¹ Sir A. Cunningham was stationed at Gwālior for five years, and had thus an exceptionally accurate knowledge of the fortress. His account, which corrects the text in some particulars, is as follows:—“The great fortress of Gwālior is situated on a precipitous, flat-topped, and isolated hill of sandstone, which rises 300 feet above the town at the north end, but only 274 feet at the upper gate of the principal entrance. The hill is long and narrow; its extreme length from north to south being one mile and three-quarters, while its breadth varies from 600 feet opposite the main entrance to 2,800 feet in the middle opposite the great temple. The walls are from 30 to 35 feet in height, and the rock immediately below them is steeply, but irregularly, scarped all round the hill. The long line of battlements which crowns the steep scarp on the east is broken only by the lofty towers and fretted domes of the noble palace of Rājā Mān Singh. On the opposite side, the line of battlements is relieved by the deep recess of the Urwāhi valley, and by the zigzag and serrated parapets and loopholed bastions which flank the numerous gates of the two western entrances. At the northern end, where the rock has been quarried for ages, the jagged masses of the overhanging cliff seem ready to fall upon the city beneath them. To the south the hill is less lofty, but the rock

the eastern face of the rock, between the glacis and foot of the wall, are cut out, in bold relief, the colossal figures of men sitting bareheaded under canopies, on each side of a throne or temple ; and, in another place, the colossal figure of a man standing naked, and facing outward, which I took to be that of Buddha.¹

The town of Gwālīor extends along the foot of the hill on one side, and consists of a single street above a mile long. There is a very beautiful mosque, with one end built by a Muhammad Khān, A.D. 1665, of the white sandstone of the rock above it. It looks as fresh as if it had not been finished a month ; and struck, as I passed it, with so noble a work, apparently new, and under such a government, I alighted from my horse, went in, and read the inscription, which told me the date of the building and the name of the founder. There is no stucco-work over any part of it, nor is any required on such beautiful materials ; and the stones are all so nicely cut that cement seems to have been considered useless. It has the usual two minarets or towers, and over the arches and alcoves are carved, as customary, passages from the Korān, in the beautiful Kufic characters.² The court and camp of the

has been steeply scarped, and is generally quite inaccessible. Midway over all towers the giant form of a massive Hindu temple, grey with the moss of ages. Altogether, the fort of Gwālīor forms one of the most picturesque views in Northern India." (*Archæol. Survey Reports*, Vol. II, p. 330.)

¹ The nakedness of the image in itself proves that Buddha could not be the person represented. His statues are never nude. The Gwālīor figures are images of some of the twenty-four great saints (Tirthankaras or Jinas) of the Digambara sect of the Jain religion. Jain statues are frequently of colossal size. The largest of those at Gwālīor is fifty-seven feet high. The Gwālīor sculptures are of late date--the middle of the fifteenth century. The antiquities of Gwālīor, including these sculptures, are well described in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 330-395, plates lxxxvi. to xci.

² This mosque is the Jāmi', or cathedral, mosque "situated at the eastern foot of the fortress, near the Alamgīrī Darwāza (gate). It is a

chief extends out from the southern end of the hill for several miles.

The whole of the hill on which the fort of Gwālior stands had evidently, at no very distant period, been covered by a mass of basalt, surmounted by a crust of indurated brown and red iron clay, with lithomarge, which often assumes the appearance of common laterite. The boulders of basalt, which still cap some part of the hill, and form the greater part of the glacis at the bottom, are for the most part in a state of rapid decomposition; but some of them are still so hard and fresh that the hammer rings upon them as upon a bell, and their fracture is brilliantly crystalline. The basalt is the same as that which caps the sandstone hills of the Vindhya range throughout Mālwa. The sandstone hills around Gwālior all rise in the same abrupt manner from the plain as those through Mālwa generally; and they have almost all of them the same basaltic glacis at their base, with boulders of that rock scattered over the top, all indicating that they were at one time buried, in the same manner, under one great mass of volcanic matter, thrown out from their submarine craters in streams of lava, or diffused through the ocean or lakes in ashes, and deposited in strata. The geological character of the country about Gwālior is very similar to that of the country about Sāgar; and I may say the same of the Vindhya range generally, as far as I have seen it, from Mirzapore on the Ganges to Bhopāl in Mālwa—hills of sandstone rising suddenly from alluvial plain, and capped, or bearing signs of having been capped, by basalt reposing

neat and favourable specimen of the later Moghal architecture. Its beauty, however, is partly due to the fine light-coloured sandstone of which it is built. This at once attracted the notice of Sir Wm. Sleeman, who, etc." (*Archæol. Survey of India Reports*, by Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 370). This mosque is in the old city, which Sir A. Cunningham describes as "a crowded mass of small flat-roofed stone houses." (*Ibid.* p. 330.)

immediately upon it, and partly covered in its turn by beds of indurated iron clay.¹

The fortress of Gwālīor was celebrated for its strength under the Hindoo sovereigns of India; but was taken by the Muhammadans after a long siege, A.D. 1197.² The Hindoos regained possession, but were again expelled by the Emperor Iltitish, A.D. 1235.³ The Hindoos again

¹ The Geological Survey recognizes a special group of "transition" rocks between the metamorphic and the Vindhyan series under the name of the Gwālīor area. "The Gwālīor area is . . . only fifty miles long from east to west, and about fifteen miles wide. It takes its name from the city of Gwālīor, which stands upon it, surrounding the famous fort built upon a scarped outlier of Vindhyan sandstone, which rests upon a base of massive bedded trap belonging to the transition period." (*Manual of Geology of India*, Part I, p. 56.) The writers of the manual do not notice the basaltic cap of the fort hill described by the author, and at page 300 use language which implies that the hill is outside the limits of the Deccan trap. But the author's observations seem sufficiently precise to warrant the conclusion that he was right in believing the basaltic cap of the Gwālīor hill to be an outlying fragment of the vast Deccan trap sheet. The relation between laterite and lithomarge is discussed in page 353 of the *Manual*, and the occurrence of laterite caps on the highest ground of the country, at two places near Gwālīor, "outside of the trap area," is noticed (*ibid.* p. 356). These two places are at Rāipur hill, and on the Kaimūr sandstone, about two miles to the north-west. No doubt these two hills are outliers of the Central India spread of laterite, which has been traced as far as Sipri, about sixty miles south of the Rāipur hill. (Hackett, *Geology of Gwālīor and Vicinity*, in *Records of Geological Survey of India*, Vol. III, p. 41.) The geology of Gwālīor is also discussed in Mr. Mallet's paper entitled "Sketch of the Geology of Scindia's Territories." (*Records*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.) Neither writer refers to the basaltic cap of Gwālīor fort hill. For the refutation of the author's theory of the subaqueous origin of the Deccan trap see notes to Chapters XIV and XVII, *ante*, p.p. 119 and 138.

² In the reign of Muizz-ud-dīn, Muhammad bin Sām, also known by the names of Shahāb-ud-dīn, and Muhammad Ghori. He struck billon coins at the Gwālīor mint. The correct date is A.D. 1196. The Hijrī year 592 began on the 6th Dec. A.D. 1195.

³ Shams-ud-dīn Iltitish, "the greatest of the Slave Kings," reigned from A.D. 1210 to 1235 (A.H. 607-633). He besieged Gwālīor in A.H. 629, and, after eleven months' resistance captured the place in

got possession, and after holding it one hundred years, again surrendered it to the forces of the Emperor Ibrāhīm, A.D. 1519.¹ In 1543 it was surrendered up by the troops of the Emperor Humāyūn,² to Shēr Khān, his successful competitor for the empire.³ It afterwards fell into the hands of a Jāt chief, the Rānā of Gohad,⁴ from whom it was taken by the Marāthās. While in their possession, it was invested by our troops under the command of Major Popham; and, on the 3rd of August, 1780, taken by escalade.⁵ The party that scaled the wall was gallantly led

the month Safar, A.H. 630, equivalent to Nov.-Dec. A.D. 1232. The date given in the text is wrong. The correct name of this king is apparently Iltitmish. It is written Altumash by the author, and Altamash by Thomas and Cunningham. A summary of the events of his reign, based on coins and other original documents, is given on page 45 of Thomas' "Chronicles on the Pathān Kings of Delhi." Iltitmish recorded an inscription dated A.H. 630 at Gwālīor (*ibid.* p. 80). This inscription was seen by Bābar, but has since disappeared.

¹ Ibrāhīm Lodī, A.D. 1517-1526. He was defeated and killed by Bābar at the first battle of Pānīpat, A.D. 1526. The correct date of his capture of Gwālīor, according to Cunningham (Vol. II, p. 340) is 1518.

² Humāyūn was son of Bābar, and father of Akbar the Great. His first reign lasted from A.D. 1530 to 1540; his second brief reign of less than six months was terminated by an accident in January A.D. 1556. The correct date of the surrender of Gwālīor to Shēr Shāh was A.D. 1542, corresponding to A.H. 949 (Cunningham, Vol. II, p. 393), which year began 17th April, 1542.

³ Shēr Khān is generally known as Shēr (or Shīr) Shāh. A good summary of his career from A.D. 1528 to his death in A.D. 1545 (A.H. 934 to 952) is given by Thomas (*op. cit.* p. 393). He struck coins at Gwālīor in A.H. 950, 951, 952 (*ibid.* p. 403).

⁴ Gohad lies between Etawah (Itāwā) and Gwālīor, twenty-eight miles N.E. of the latter. The chief, originally an obscure Jāt landholder, rose to power during the confusion of the eighteenth century, and allied himself with the British in 1789. (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. "Gohad.")

⁵ This memorable exploit was performed during Warren Hastings' war with the Marāthās, Sir Eyre Coote being Commander-in-Chief. Captain Popham first stormed the fort of Lahor, a stronghold west of Kālpi (Calpee), and then, by a cleverly arranged escalade, captured "with little trouble and small loss" the Gwālīor fortress, which was

by a very distinguished and most promising officer, Captain Bruce, brother of the celebrated traveller.¹

It was made over to us by the Rānā of Gohad, who had been our ally in the war. Failing in his engagement to us, he was afterwards abandoned to the resentment of Mādhoji Sindhia, chief of the Marāthās.² In 1783, Gwālīor was invested by Mādhoji Sindhia's troops, under the command of one of the most extraordinary men that have ever figured in Indian history, the justly celebrated General De Boigne.³ After many unsuccessful attempts to take it by

garrisoned by a thousand men, and commonly supposed to be impregnable. "Captain Popham was rewarded for his gallant services by being promoted to the rank of Major." (Thornton, *The History of the British Empire in India*, second edition, 1859, page 149.) "It is said that the spot (for escalade) was pointed out to Popham by a cowherd, and that the whole of the attacking party were supplied with grass shoes to prevent them from slipping on the ledges of rock. There is a story also that the cost of these grass shoes was deducted from Popham's pay when he was about to leave India as a Major-General, nearly a quarter of a century afterwards." (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. II, p. 340.)

¹ James Bruce, "the celebrated traveller," was Consul at Algiers. He explored Tripoli, Tunis, Syria, and Egypt, and travelled in Abyssinia from November, 1769, to December, 1771. He returned to Egypt by the Nile, arriving at Alexandria in March, 1773. His travels were published in 1790. He died in 1794.

² The Sindhia family of Gwālīor was founded by Rānoji Sindhia, a man of humble origin, in the service of the Peshwā. Rānoji died about A.D. 1750, and was succeeded by one of his natural sons, Mādhoji (Mādhava Rāo) Sindhia, whose turbulent and chequered career lasted till 1794, when he was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Daulat Rāo. The Marāthā power under Daulat Rāo was broken in 1803, by Sir Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum, and by Lord Lake at Laswārī. The most recent work on Mādhoji's career is "Mādhava Rāo Sindhia : and the Hindu Reconquest of India," by H. G. Keene. (Clarendon Press, 1892.)

³ It is impossible within the limits of a note to give an account of the extraordinary career of General De Boigne. His Indian adventures began in 1778, and terminated in September, 1796, when he retired from Sindhia's service, and sold his private regiment of Persian cavalry, six hundred strong, to Lord Cornwallis, on behalf of the East India Company, for three lakhs of rupees (about £30,000). He settled in his native town, Chambéri in Savoy, and lived, in the enjoyment of his

escalade, he bought over part of the garrison, and made himself master of the place. Gohad itself was taken soon after in 1784; but the Rānā, Chhatarpat, made his escape. He was closely pursued, made prisoner at Karauli, and confined in the fortress of Gwālior, where he died in the year 1785.¹ He left no son, and his claims upon Gohad devolved upon his nephew, Kirat Singh, who, at the close of our war with the Marāthās, got from Lord Lake, in lieu of these claims, the estate of Dholpur, situated on the left banks of the river Chambal, which is estimated at the annual value of three hundred thousand, or three lākhs, of rupees. He died this year, 1835, and has been succeeded by his son, Bhagwant Singh, a lad of seventeen years of age.²

great wealth, and of high honours conferred by the sovereigns of France and Italy, until 21st June, 1830. He was created a Count, and has been succeeded in the title by his son. (Higginbotham, *Men whom India has Known*, and Mr. S. E. Skinner, in *Pioneer* newspaper (Allahabad), Sept. 7th, 1892.) Nine chapters of Mr. Herbert Compton's book, "A Particular Account of European Military Adventurers of Hindostan" (London, 1892) are devoted to De Boigne.

¹ The cession of Gohad to Sindhia was sanctioned in the year 1805, during the brief and inglorious second term of office of Lord Cornwallis, and was effected by Sir George Barlow. The transaction is severely censured by Thornton (*History*, p. 343) as a breach of faith. Gwālior was given up to Sindhia along with Gohad. In January, 1844, shortly after the battle of Maharājpur, Gwālior was again occupied by the forces of the Company, and the fortress (save for the mutiny period) continued in British occupation until the 2nd December, 1885, when Lord Dufferin restored it to Sindhia in exchange for Jhānsī. In June, 1857, the Gwālior soldiery mutinied and massacred the Europeans, but the Mahārāja remained throughout loyal to the English government.

Sir Hugh Rose recaptured the place by assault on the 28th June, 1858. In the changed circumstances of the country, and with regard to the modern developments of the art of war, the Gwālior fortress is now of slight military value.

² The territory of the Dholpur chief is about fifty-four miles long by twenty-three broad. The town of Dholpur is nearly midway between Agra and Gwālior. The revenue is estimated by Thornton (1858) as seven lākhs, not only three lākhs as stated by the author.

The present chief speaks English fluently, and is well known to European society at Agra.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Contest for Empire between the Sons of Shāh Jahān.

UNDER the Emperors of Delhi the fortress of Gwālīor was always considered as an imperial State prison, in which they confined those rivals and competitors for dominion whom they did not like to put to a violent death.¹ They kept a large menagerie, and other things, for their amusement. Among the best of the princes who ended their days in this great prison was Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of the unhappy Dārā. A narrative of the contest for empire between the four sons of Shāh Jahān may, perhaps, prove both interesting and instructive; and, as I shall have occasion often, in the course of my rambles, to refer to the characters who figured in it, I shall venture to give it a place.

2

¹ "The prisons of Gwālīor are situated in a small outwork on the western side of the fortress, immediately above the Dhondha gateway. They are called 'nau chaukī,' or 'the nine cells,' and are both well-lighted and well-ventilated. But in spite of their height, from 15 to 26 feet, they must be insufferably close in the hot season. These were the State prisons in which Akbar confined his rebellious cousins, and Aurangzēb the troublesome sons of Dārā and Murād, as well as his own more dangerous son Muhammad. During these times the fort was strictly guarded, and no one was allowed to enter without a pass." (*Archaeol. Survey Reports*, Vol. II, p. 369.)

² The following twelve chapters contain an historical piece, to the personages and events of which the author will have frequent occasion to refer; and it is introduced in this place from its connexion with Gwālīor, the State prison in which some of its actors ended their days. [W. H. S.]

The "historical piece" which occupies Chapters XXXVII. to XLVI.,

inclusive, of the author's text is little more than a paraphrase of "The History of the Late Rebellion in the States of the Great Mogol" by Bernier. Mr. A. Constable's revised and annotated translation of Bernier's work renders superfluous the reprinting of Sir William Sleeman's paraphrase. The main facts of the narrative are, moreover, now easily accessible in the histories of Elphinstone and innumerable other writers. Such explanations as may be required to elucidate the later chapters of the author's work will be found in the notes. The titles of the chapters which have not been reprinted follow here for facility of reference.



CHAPTER XXXVIII

Aurangzēb and Murād Defeat their Father's Army near Ujain.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Dārā Marches in Person against his Brothers, and is Defeated.

CHAPTER XL

Dārā Retreats towards Lahore—Is Robbed by the Jāts—Their Character.

CHAPTER XLI

Shāh Jahān Imprisoned by his Two Sons, Aurangzēb and Murād.

CHAPTER XLII

Aurangzēb Throws off the Mask, Imprisons his Brother Murād, and Assumes the Government of the Empire.

CHAPTER XLIII

Aurangzēb Meets Shujā in Bengal and Defeats him, after Pursuing Dārā to the Hyphasis.

CHAPTER XLIV

Aurangzēb Imprisons his Eldest Son—Shujā and all his Family are Destroyed.

CHAPTER XLV

Second Defeat and Death of Dārā, and Imprisonment of his Two Sons.

CHAPTER XLVI

Death and Character of Amīr Jumla.



CHAPTER XLVII

Reflections on the Preceding History.

THE contest for the empire of India here described is very like that which preceded it, between the sons of Jahāngīr, in which Shāh Jahān succeeded in destroying all his brothers and nephews ; and that which succeeded it, forty years after,¹ in which Mu'azzam, the second of the four sons of Aurangzēb, did the same ;² and it may, like

¹ " Fifty years after " would be more nearly correct. Aurangzēb was crowned 23rd July, 1658, according to the author. See end of next note.

² On the death of Aurangzēb, which took place in the Deccan, on the 3rd of March, 1707 (N.S.), his son 'Azam marched at the head of the troops which he commanded in the Deccan, to meet Mu'azzam, who was viceroy in Kābul. They met and fought near Agra. 'Azam was defeated and killed. The victor marched to meet his other brother, Kām Baksh, whom he killed near Hyderabad in the Deccan, and secured to himself the empire. On his death, which took place in 1713, his four sons contended in the same way for the throne at the head of the armies of their respective viceroalties. Mu'izz-ud-dīn, the most crafty, persuaded his two brothers, Rafī-ash-Shān and Jahān Shāh, to unite their forces with his own against their ambitious brother, Azīm-ash-Shān, whom they defeated and killed. Mu'izz-ud-dīn then destroyed his two allies. [W. H. S.]

The above note is not altogether accurate. 'Azam, the third son of Aurangzēb, was killed in battle near Agra, in June, 1707. During the interval between Aurangzēb's death and his own, he had struck coins. Mu'azzam, the second, and eldest then surviving son, after the defeat of his rival, ascended the throne under the title of Shāh Ālam Bahādur Shāh, and is generally known as Bahādur Shāh. He was then sixty-four years of age, his father having been almost ninety when he died. Bahādur Shāh's conduct towards Kām Baksh, and the events following the death of Bahādur Shāh are misrepresented in the author's note. They

the rest of Indian history, teach us a few useful lessons. First, we perceive the advantages of the law of primogeniture, which accustoms people to consider the right of the eldest son as sacred, and the conduct of any man who

are narrated as follows by Mr. Lane-Poole :—"The Deccan was the weakest point in the empire from the beginning of the reign. Hardly had Bahādur appointed his youngest brother, Kām Baksh ('Wish-fulfiller'), viceroy of Bijāpur and Haidarābād, when that infatuated prince rebelled and committed such atrocities that the Emperor was compelled to attack him. Zū-l-Fikār engaged and defeated the rebel king (who was striking coins in full assumption of sovereignty) near Haidarābād, and Kām Baksh died of his wounds (1708, A.H. 1120).

"In the midst of this confusion, and surrounded by portents of coming disruption, Bahādur died, 1712 (1124). He left four sons, who immediately entered with the zest of their race upon the struggle for the crown. The eldest, 'Azīm-ash-Shān ('Strong of Heart'), first assumed the sceptre, but Zū-l-Fikār, the prime minister, opposed and routed him, and the prince was drowned in his flight. The successful general next defeated and slew two other brothers, Khujistah Akhtār Jahān-Shāh and Rafī-ash-Shān, and placed the surviving of the four sons of Bahādur [*i.e.* Mu'izz-ud-dīn], on the throne with the title of Jahāndār ('World-owner'). The new Emperor was an irredeemable profligate and an abandoned debauchee."

He was killed in 1713, and was succeeded by Farrukh-siyar, the son of Azīm-ash-Shān. The chronology is summarized by Mr. Lane-Poole as follows :—

No.	Sovereign.	A.H.	A.D.
VI.	Aurangzīb Alamgīr, Muhayī-ad-dīn	1069	1659
	'Azam Shāh	1118	1707
	Kām Baksh	1119-20	1708
VII.	Bahādur Shāh-'Ālam, Kutb-ad-dīn	1119	1707
VIII.	Jahāndār Shāh, Mu'izz-ad-dīn	1124	1713
IX.	Farrukhsiyar	1124	1713

(*The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their Coins*, by Stanley Lane-Poole. Westminster, A. Constable & Co., 1892; p.p. xxxii-xxxv, and chronological table.) Mr. Lane-Poole dates the beginning of the reign of Aurangzēb (or Aurangzīb, as he spells it, following the Persian pronunciation) from his coronation in May, A.D. 1659 (A.H. 1069). Sir Wm. Sleeman says that "Aurangzēb was formally crowned Emperor on the 23rd of July, 1658; and, the day after, set out in pursuit of Dārā. The coronation took place in Shālīmār

attempts to violate it as criminal. Among Muhammadans, property, as well real as personal, is divided equally among the sons;¹ and their Korān, which is their only civil and criminal, as well as religious, code, makes no provision for the successions to sovereignty. The death of every sovereign is, in consequence, followed by a contest between his sons, unless they are overawed by some paramount power; and he who succeeds in this contest finds it necessary, for his own security, to put all his brothers and nephews

garden, near Delhi." (*Note to Chapter XLI, ante.*) Tavernier says that Aurangzēb was proclaimed king on the 20th of October, 1660; on which statement his editor, Mr. V. Ball, remarks that "this date appears to be incorrect. Aurangzēb's accession took place in August, 1658, when he was first proclaimed Emperor; but he did not put his name on the coin, and was not crowned till the following year. This has caused some confusion in the dates of his reign, but it cannot be said to have commenced later than 1659." (*Ball's Tavernier*, Vol. I, p. 356.) "Aurangzēb was proclaimed Emperor on the 26th of May, 1659. But his administration of the Empire commenced on the 9th of June, 1658. (*See p. 356 n*)" (*ibid.* p. 371). The Hijrī year 1069 began on Sunday, 29th September, 1658 (N.S.) The matter is worth clearing up, and I therefore quote Khāfi Khān's words in full: "Aurangzēb, not caring to enter the fortress of Delhi, encamped in the garden of Aghar-ābād, now called Shālāmār, and he sent on an advanced force under Bahādur Khān in pursuit of Dārā. On the 1st Zi-l-K'ada, 1068 A.H. (22nd July, 1658 A.D.), after saying his prayers, and at an auspicious time, he took his seat on the throne of the Empire of Hindūstān without even troubling himself about placing his name on the coinage, or having it repeated in the *Khutba* . . . Such matters as titles, the *khutba*, the coinage, and the sending of presents to other sovereigns were all deferred to his second taking possession of the throne." (*Dowson's Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 229.) "The second year of the reign commenced on the 4th Ramazān, 1069 A.H. . . . The Emperor's name and titles were proclaimed and the superscription on the coins was changed" (*ibid.* p. 241). The New Style (N.S.) equivalent of the 1st of Zi-l-K'ada, 1068 A.H. is Wednesday, 31 July, 1658 A.D. The second proclamation took place on Friday, 26th May, 1659 A.D. (N.S.) Mr. Beale gives 21st July, 1658, as the Old Style date for the first coronation, or accession, and this is correct. Rupees of the first regnal year of Aurangzēb exist.

¹ The author invariably ignores the fact that daughters and other female relatives inherit under Muhammadan law.

to death, lest they should be rescued by factions, and made the cause of future civil wars. But sons, who exercise the powers of viceroys and command armies, cannot, where the succession is unsettled, wait patiently for the natural death of their father—delay may be dangerous. Circumstances, which now seem more favourable to their views than to those of their brothers, may alter; the military aristocracy depend upon the success of the chief they choose in the enterprise, and the army more upon plunder than regular pay; both may desert the cause of the more wary for that of the more daring; each is flattered into an overweening confidence in his own ability and good fortune; and all rush on to seize upon the throne yet filled by their wretched parent, who, in the history of his own crimes, now reads those of his children. Gibbon has justly observed (Chap. VII.):—"The superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind. The acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction; and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch. To the firm establishment of this idea we owe the peaceful succession and mild administration of European monarchies. To the defect of it we must attribute the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers. Yet, even in the East, the sphere of contention is usually limited to the princes of the reigning house; and, as soon as the fortunate competitor has removed his brethren by the sword and the bowstring, he no longer entertains any jealousy of his meaner subjects."

Among Hindoos, both real and personal property is divided in the same manner equally among the sons; but a principality is, among them, considered as an exception to this rule; and every large estate, within which the proprietor holds criminal jurisdiction, and maintains a military establishment, is considered a principality. In such cases the law of primogeniture is rigorously enforced; and the

death of the prince scarcely ever involves a contest for power and dominion between his sons. The feelings of the people, who are accustomed to consider the right of the eldest son to the succession as religiously sacred, would be greatly shocked at the attempt of any of his brothers to invade it. The younger brothers, never for a moment supposing they could be supported in such a sacrilegious attempt, feel for their eldest brother a reverence inferior only to that which they feel for their father ; and the eldest brother, never supposing such attempts on their part as possible, feels towards them as towards his own children. All the members of such a family commonly live in the greatest harmony. In the laws, usages, and feelings of the people upon this subject we had the means of preventing that eternal subdivision of landed property, which ever has been, and ever will be, the bane of everything that is great and good in India ; but, unhappily, our rulers have never had the wisdom to avail themselves of them. In a great part of India the property, or the lease of a *village* held in farm under government, was considered as a *principality*, and subject strictly to the same laws of primogeniture—it was a *fief*, held under government on condition of either direct service, rendered to the State in war, in education, or charitable or religious duties, or of furnishing the means, in money or in kind, to provide for such service. In every part of the Sāgar and Nerbudda Territories the law of primogeniture in such leases was in force when we took possession, and has been ever since preserved. The eldest of the sons that remain united with the father, at his death, succeeds to the estate, and to the obligation of maintaining all the widows and orphan children of those of his brothers who remained united to their parent stock up to their death, all his unmarried sisters, and, above all, his mother. All the younger brothers aid him in the management, and are maintained by him till they wish to separate, when a division of the stock takes place, and is adjusted by the elders of the village. The member, who thus separates from the

parent stock, from that time forfeits for ever all claims to support from the possessor of the ancestral estate, either for himself, his widow, or his orphan children.¹

Next, it is obvious that no existing government in India could, in case of invasion or civil war, count upon the fidelity of their aristocracy either of land or of office. It is observed by Hume, in treating of the reign of King John in England, that "men easily change sides in a civil war, especially where the power is founded upon an hereditary and independent authority, and is not derived from the opinion and favour of the people"—that is, upon the people collectively or the nation; for the hereditary and independent authority of the English baron in the time of King John was founded upon the opinion and fidelity of only that portion of the people over which he ruled, in the same manner as that of the Hindoo chiefs of India in the time of Shāh Jahān; but it was without reference either to the honesty of the cause he espoused, or to the opinion and feeling of the nation or empire generally regarding it. The Hindoo territorial chiefs, like the feudal barons of the Middle Ages in Europe, employed all the revenues of their estates in the maintenance of military followers, upon whose fidelity they could entirely rely, whatever side they might themselves take in a civil war; and the more of these resources that were left at their disposal the more impatient they became of the restraints which settled governments impose upon them. Under such settled governments they felt that they had an *arm* which they could not use; and, the stronger that arm, the stronger was their desire to use it in the subjugation of their neighbours. The reigning

¹ See *ante*, Chapter X, p.p. 79, 82, *note*. The gradual conversion of tenure by leases from government into proprietary right in land has brought the land under the operation of the ordinary Hindoo law, and each member of a joint family can now enforce partition of the land as well as of the stock upon it. The evils resulting from incessant partition are obvious, but no remedy can be devised. The people insist on partition, and will effect it privately, if the law imposes obstacles to a formal public division.

emperors tried to secure their fidelity by assigning to them posts of honour about their court that required their personal attendance in all their pomp of pride; and by taking from each a daughter in marriage. If any one rebelled or neglected his duties, he was either crushed by the imperial forces, or put to the *ban of the empire*; and his territories were assigned to any one who would undertake to conquer them.¹ Their attendance at our viceroyal court would be a sad encumbrance;² and our Governor-General could not well conciliate them by matrimonial alliances, unless we were to alter a good deal in their favour our law against polygamy; nor would it be desirable to "let slip the dogs of war" once more throughout the land by adopting the plan of putting the refractory chiefs to the ban of the empire. Their troops would be of no use to us in the way they are organized and disciplined, even if we could rely upon their fidelity in time of need; and this I do not think we ever can.³

If it be the duty of all such territorial chiefs to contribute to the support of the public establishments of the paramount power by which they are secured in the possession

¹ These remarks attribute too much system to the disorderly working of an Oriental despotism. No institution resembling the formal "ban of the empire" ever really existed in India.

² The Rājās at Simla might now be considered by some people as an encumbrance.

³ The author could not foresee the gallant service to be rendered by the Chiefs of the Panjāb and other territories in the mutiny, nor the institution of the Imperial Service Troops. These troops, first organized in 1888, in response to the voluntary offers made by many princes as a reply to the Russian aggression on Panjdeh, are select bodies, picked from the soldiery of certain native states, and equipped and drilled in the European manner. Cashmere (Kāshmir) and several of the Panjāb States have already furnished troops of this kind, officered by native gentlemen, under the guidance of English inspecting officers. The Kāshmir Imperial Service Troops did excellent service during the campaign of 1892 in Hunza and Nagar. The system so happily introduced is likely to be much further developed, and will, it is expected, furnish twenty-one thousand soldiers of good quality, besides some transport trains.

of their estates, and defended from all external danger, as it most assuredly is, it is the duty of that power to take such contribution in money, or the means of maintaining establishments more suited to its purpose than their rude militia can ever be; and thereby to impair the *powers* of that arm which they are so impatient to wield for their own aggrandizement, and to the prejudice of their neighbours; and to strengthen that of the paramount power by which the whole are kept in peace, harmony, and security. We give to India what India never had before our rule, and never could have without it, the assurance that there will always be at the head of the government a sensible ruler trained up to office in the best school in the world; and that the security of the rights, and the enforcement of the duties, presented or defined by law, will not depend upon the will or caprice of individuals in power. These assurances the people in India now everywhere thoroughly understand and appreciate. They see in the native states around them that the lucky accident of an able governor is too rare ever to be calculated upon; while all that the people have of property, office, or character, depends not only upon their governor, but upon every change that he may make in his ministers.

The government of the Muhammadans was always essentially military, and the aristocracy was always one of military office. There was nothing else upon which an aristocracy could be formed. All high civil offices were combined with the military commands. The Emperor was the great proprietor of all the lands, and collected and distributed their rents through his own servants. Every Musalmān with his Korān in his hand was his own priest and his own lawyer; and the people were nowhere represented in any municipal or legislative assembly—there was no bar, bench, senate, corporation, art, science, or literature by which men could rise to eminence and power. Capital had nowhere been concentrated upon great commercial or manufacturing establishments. There were, in short, no

great men but the military servants of government ; and all the servants of government held their posts at the will and pleasure of their sovereign.¹

¹ In Rome, as in Egypt and India, many of the great works which, in modern nations, form the basis of gradations of rank in society, were executed by government out of public revenue, or by individuals gratuitously for the benefit of the public ; for instance, roads, canals, aqueducts, bridges, &c., from which no one derived an income, though all derived benefit. There was no capital invested, with a view to profit, in machinery, railroads, canals, steam-engines, and other great works, which, in the preparation and distribution of man's enjoyments, save the labour of so many millions to the nations of modern Europe and America, and supply the incomes of many of the most useful and most enlightened members of their middle and higher classes of society. During the republic, and under the first emperors, the laws were simple, and few derived any considerable income from explaining them. Still fewer derived their incomes from expounding the religion of the people till the establishment of Christianity.

Man was the principal machine in which property was invested with a view to profit, and the concentration of capital in hordes of slaves, and the farm of the public revenues of conquered provinces and tributary states, were, with the land, the great basis of the aristocracies of Rome, and the Roman world generally. The senatorial and equestrian orders were supported chiefly by lending out their slaves as gladiators and artificers, and by farming the revenues, and lending money to the oppressed subjects of the provinces, and to vanquished princes, at an exorbitant interest, to enable them to pay what the state or its public officers demanded. The slaves throughout the Roman empire were about equal in number to the free population, and they were for the most part concentrated in the hands of the members of the upper and middle classes, who derived their incomes from lending and employing them. They were to those classes in the old world what canals, railroads, steam-engines, &c., are to those of modern days. Some Roman citizens had as many as five thousand slaves educated to the one occupation of gladiators for the public shows of Rome. Julius Cæsar had this number in Italy waiting his return from Gaul ; and Gordianus used commonly to give five hundred pair for a public festival, and never less than one hundred and fifty.

In India slavery is happily but little known ;^a the church had no

^a The author's statement that in the year 1836 slavery was "but little known in India" is a truly astonishing one. Slavery of various kinds—racial, predial, domestic—the slavery of captives, and of debtors, had existed in India from time immemorial, and still flourished

If a man was appointed by the Emperor to the command of five thousand, the whole of this five thousand depended entirely on his favour for their employment, and upon their employment for their subsistence, whether paid

hierarchy either among the Hindoos or Muhammadans ; nor had the law any high interpreters. In all its civil branches of marriage, inheritance, succession, and contract, it was to the people of the two religions as simple as the laws of the twelve tables ; and contributed just as little to the support of the aristocracy as they did. In all these respects, China is much the same ; the land belongs to the sovereign, and is minutely subdivided among those who farm and cultivate it—the great works in canals, aqueducts, bridges, roads, &c., are made by government, and yield no private income. Capital is nowhere concentrated in expensive machinery ; their church is without a hierarchy, their law without barristers—their higher classes are therefore composed almost exclusively of the public servants of the government. The rule which prescribes that princes of the blood shall not be employed in the government of provinces and the command of armies, and that the reigning sovereign shall have the nomination of his successor, has saved China from a frequent return of the scenes which I have described. None of the princes are put to death, because it is known that all will acquiesce in the nomination when made known, supported as it always is by the popular sentiment throughout the empire. [W. H. S.]

in 1836. Slavery, so far as the law can abolish it, was abolished by the Indian Act V. of 1843. In practice, domestic slavery exists to this day in great Muhammadan households, and multitudes of agricultural labourers have a very dim consciousness of personal freedom. The Criminal Law Commissioners, who reported previous to the passage of Act V. of 1843, estimated that in British India, as then constituted, the proportion of the slave to the free population varied from one-sixth to two-fifths. Sir Bartle Frere estimated the slave population of the territories included in British India in the year 1841 as being between eight and nine millions. Slaves were heritable and transferable property, and could be mortgaged or let out on hire. The article "Slave" in Balfour's *Cyclopædia* (3rd edition), from which most of the above particulars are taken, is copious, and gives references to various authorities. The following works may also be consulted :—
 "The Law and Custom of Slavery in British India," by William Adam, 8vo, 1840 ; "An Account of Slave Population in the Western Peninsula of India," 1822, with an Appendix on Slavery in Malabar ;
 "India's Cries to British Humanity," by J. Peggs, 8vo, 1830.

from the imperial treasury, or by an assignment of land in some distant province.¹ In our armies there is a regular gradation of rank ; and every officer feels that he holds his commission by a tenure as high in origin, as secure in possession, and as independent in its exercise, as that of the general who commands ; and the soldiers all know and feel that the places of those officers, who are killed or disabled in action, will be immediately filled by those next in rank, who are equally trained to command, and whose authority none will dispute. In the Muhammadan armies there was no such gradation of rank. Every man held his office at the will of the chief whom he followed, and he was every moment made to feel that all his hopes of advancement must depend upon his pleasure. The relation between them was that of patron and client ; the client felt bound to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his patron, whatever they might be ; and the patron, in like manner, felt bound to protect and promote the interests of his client, as long as he continued to do so. As often as the patron changed sides in a civil war, his clients all blindly followed him ; and when he was killed, they instantly dispersed to serve under any other leader whom they might find willing to take their services on the same terms.

The Hindoo chiefs of the military class had hereditary territorial possessions ; and the greater part of these possessions were commonly distributed on conditions of military service among their followers, who were all of the same clan. But the highest Muhammadan officers of the

¹ In Akbar's time there were thirty-three grades of military rank, and the officers were known as "commanders of ten thousand," "commanders of five thousand," and so on. Only princes of the blood royal were granted the commands of seven thousand and of ten thousand, equivalent to the rank of Field Marshals. The number of troopers actually provided by each officer did not correspond with the number indicated by his title. ("The Emperor Akbar," by Count Von Noer ; translated by Annette S. Beveridge, Calcutta, 1890 ; Vol. I, p. 267.)

empire had not an acre more of land than they required for their dwelling-houses, gardens, and cemeteries. They had nothing but their office to depend upon, and were always naturally anxious to hold it under the *strongest* side in any competition for dominion. When the star of the competitor under whom they served seemed to be on the wane, they soon found some plausible excuse to make their peace with his rival, and serve under his banners. Each competitor fought for his own life, and those of his children; the imperial throne could be filled by only one man; and that man dared not leave one single brother alive. His father had taken good care to dispose of all his own brothers and nephews in the last contest. The subsistence of the highest, as well as that of the lowest, officer in the army depended upon their employment in the public service, and all such employments would be given to those who served the victor in the struggle. Under such circumstances one is rather surprised that the history of civil wars in India exhibits so many instances of fidelity and devotion.

The mass of the people stood aloof in such contests without any feeling of interest, save the dread that their homes might become the seat of the war, or the tracks of armies which were alike destructive to the people in their course whatever side they might follow. The result could have no effect upon their laws and institutions, and little upon their industry and property. As ships are from necessity formed to weather the storms to which they are constantly liable at sea, so were the Indian village communities framed to weather those of invasion and civil war, to which they were so much accustomed by land; and, in the course of a year or two, no traces were found of ravages that one might have supposed it would have taken ages to recover from. The lands remained the same, and their fertility was improved by the fallow; every man carried away with him the implements of his trade, and brought them back with him when he returned; and the

industry of every village supplied every necessary article that the community required for their food, clothing, furniture, and accommodation. Each of these little communities, when left unmolested, was in itself sufficient to secure the rights and enforce the duties of all the different members; and all they wanted from their government was moderation in the land taxes, and protection from external violence. Arrian says:—"If any intestine war happens to break forth among the Indians, it is deemed a heinous crime either to seize the husbandman or spoil their harvest. All the rest wage war against each other, and kill and slay as they think convenient, while they live quietly and peaceably among them, and employ themselves at their rural affairs either in their fields or vineyards."¹ I am afraid armies were not much more disposed to forbearance in the days of Alexander than at present, and that his followers must have supposed they remained untouched, merely because they heard of their sudden rise again from their ruins by that spirit of moral and political vitality with which necessity seems to have endowed them.²

During the early part of his life and reign, Aurangzēb

¹ Diodorus Siculus has the same observation. "No enemy ever does any prejudice to the husbandmen; but, out of a due regard to the common good, forbear to injure them in the least degree; and, therefore, the land being never spoiled or wasted, yields its fruit in great abundance, and furnishes the inhabitants with plenty of victual and all other provisions." Book II, chap. 3. [W. H. S.] These allegations certainly cannot be accepted as serious statements of fact, however they may be explained.

² The rapid recovery of Indian villages and villagers from the effects of war does not need for its explanation the evocation of "a spirit of moral and political vitality." The real explanation is to be found in the simplicity of the village life and needs, as expounded by the author in the preceding passage. Human societies with a low standard of comfort and a simple scheme of life are, like individual organisms of lowly structure and few functions, hard to kill. Human labour, and a few cattle, with a little grain and some sticks, are the only essential requisites for the foundation or reconstruction of a village.

was employed in conquering and destroying the two independent kingdoms of Golconda and Bijāpur in the Deccan, which he formed into two provinces governed by viceroys. Each had had an army of above a hundred thousand men while independent. The officers and soldiers of these armies had nothing but their courage and their swords to depend upon for their subsistence. Finding no longer any employment under settled and legitimate authority in defending the life, property, and independence of the people, they were obliged to seek it around the standards of lawless freebooters; and upon the ruins of these independent kingdoms and their disbanded armies rose the Marāthā power, the hydra-headed monster which Aurangzēb thus created by his ambition, and spent the last twenty years of his life in vain attempts to crush.¹ The monster has been since crushed by being deprived of its Peshwā, the head which alone could infuse into all the members of the confederacy a feeling of nationality, and direct all their efforts, when required, to one common object. Sindhia, the chief of Gwālīor, is one of the surviving members of this great confederacy—the rest are the Holkars of Indore, the Bhōnslās of Nāgpur, and the Gaikwārs of Barodā,² the grand children of the commandants of predatory armies, who formed capital cities out of their standing camps in the countries they invaded and conquered in the name of their head, the Satārā

¹ Golconda was taken by Aurangzēb, after a protracted siege, in 1677. Bijāpur surrendered to him on the 15th October, 1686. The vast ruins of this splendid city, which was deserted after the conquest, occupy a space thirty miles in circumference. Sivajī, the founder of the Marāthā power, died in 1680.

² The Indore and Barodā States still survive, and the reigning chiefs of both have recently visited England, and paid their respects to their Sovereign. Bhōnslā was the family name of the chiefs of Berār, also known as the Rājās of Nāgpur. The last Rājā, Raghoji III., died in December, 1853, leaving no child begotten or adopted. Lord Dalhousie annexed the State as lapsed, and his action was confirmed in 1854 by the Court of Directors and the Crown.

Rājā,¹ and afterwards in that of his mayor of the palace, the Peshwā. There is not now the slightest feeling of nationality left among the Marāthā states, either collectively or individually. There is not the slightest feeling of sympathy between the mass of the people and the chief who rules over them, and his public establishments. To maintain these public establishments he everywhere plunders the people, who most heartily detest him and them. These public establishments are composed of men of all religions and sects, gathered from all quarters of India, and bound together by no common feeling, save the hope of plunder and promotion. Not one in ten is from, or has his family in, the country where he serves, nor is one in ten of the same clan with his chief. Not one of them has any hope of a provision either for himself, when disabled from wounds or old age from serving his chief any longer, or for his family, should he lose his life in his service.

In India,² there are a great many native chiefs who were enabled, during the disorders which attended the decline and fall of the Muhammadan power and the rise and progress of the Marāthās and English, to raise and maintain armies by the plunder of their neighbours. The paramount power of the British being now securely established throughout the country, they are prevented from indulging any longer in such sporting propensities; and might employ their vast revenues in securing the blessing of good civil government for the territories in the possession of which they are secured by our military establishment. But these chiefs are not much disposed to convert their

¹ The State of Satārā, like that of Nāgpur, lapsed, owing to failure of heirs, and was annexed in 1854. It is now a district in the Bombay Presidency.

² This paragraph, and that next following, are, in the original edition, printed as part of Chapter xlviii, "The Great Diamond of Kohinūr," with which they have nothing to do. They seem to belong properly to Chapter xlvii, and are, therefore, inserted in this edition at the close of that chapter. The observations in both paragraphs are merely repetitions of remarks already recorded in other chapters.

swords into ploughshares ; they continue to spend their revenues on useless military establishments for purposes of parade and show. A native prince would, they say, be as insignificant without an army as a native gentleman upon an elephant without a cavalcade, or upon a horse without a tail. But the said army have learnt from their forefathers that they were to look to aggressions upon their neighbours—to pillage, plunder, and conquest, for wealth and promotion ; and they continue to prevent their prince from indulging in any disposition to turn his attention to the duties of civil government. They all live in the hope of some disaster to the paramount power which secures the increasing wealth of the surrounding countries from their grasp ; and threatened innovations from the north-west raise their spirits and hopes in proportion as they depress those of the classes engaged in all branches of peaceful industry.

There are, in all parts of India, thousands and tens of thousands who have lived by the sword, or who wish to live by the sword, but cannot find employment suited to their tastes. These would all flock to the standard of the first lawless chief who could offer them a fair prospect of plunder ; and to them all wars and rumours of war are delightful. The moment they hear of a threatened invasion from the north-west, they whet their swords, and look fiercely around upon those from whose breasts they are “to cut their pound of flesh.”



CHAPTER XLVIII

The Great Diamond of Kohinūr.

THE foregoing historical episode occupies too large a space in what might otherwise be termed a personal narrative ; but still I am tempted to append to it a sketch of the fortunes of that famous diamond, called with Oriental extravagance the Mountain of Light, which, by exciting the cupidity of Shāh Jahān, played so important a part in the drama.

After slumbering for the greater part of a century in the imperial treasury, it was afterwards taken by Nādir Shāh, the king of Persia, who invaded India under the reign of Muhammad Shāh, in the year 1738.¹ Nādir Shāh, in one of his mad fits, had put out the eyes of his son, Razā Kulī Mirzā, and, when he was assassinated, the conspirators gave the throne and the diamond to this son's son, Shāhrukh Mirzā, who fixed his residence at Meshed.² Ahmad Shāh, the Abdālī, commanded the Afghān cavalry in the service of Nādir Shāh, and had the charge of the military chest at the time he was put to death. With this chest, he and his cavalry left the camp during the disorders that followed the murder of the king, and returned with all haste to Kandahār, where they met Tarikī Khān, on his way to Nādir Shāh's camp with the tribute of the five

¹ Nādir Shāh was crowned king of Persia in 1736, entered the Panjāb at the close of 1738, and occupied Delhi in March, 1739. Having perpetrated an awful massacre of the inhabitants, he retired after a stay of fifty-eight days. He was assassinated in May, 1747.

² Meshed, properly Mashhad ("the place of martyrdom"), is the chief city of Khurāsān. Nādir was killed while encamped there.

provinces which he had retained of his Indian conquests, Kandahār, Kābul, Tatta, Bakkar, Multān, and Peshāwar. They gave him the first news of the death of the king, seized upon his treasure, and, with the aid of this and the military chest, Ahmad Shāh took possession of these five provinces, and formed them into the little independent kingdom of Afghānistān, over which he long reigned, and from which he occasionally invaded India and Khurāsān.¹

Shāhrukh Mirzā had his eyes put out some time after by a faction. Ahmad Shāh marched to his relief, put the rebels to death, and united his eldest son, Taimūr Shāh, in marriage to the daughter of the unfortunate prince, from whom he took the diamond, since it could be of no use to a man who could no longer see its beauties. He established Taimūr as his viceroy at Herāt, and his youngest son at Kandahār; and fixed his own residence at Kābul, where he died.² He was succeeded by Taimūr Shāh, who was succeeded by his eldest son, Zamān Shāh, who, after a reign of a few years, was driven from his throne by his younger brother, Mahmūd. He sought an asylum with his friend Ashik, who commanded a distant fortress, and who betrayed him to the usurper, and put him into confinement. He concealed the great diamond in a crevice in the wall of the room in which he was confined; and the rest of his jewels in a hole made in the ground with his dagger. As soon as Mahmūd received intimation of the arrest from Ashik, he sent for his brother, had his eyes put out, and demanded the jewels, but Zamān Shāh pretended that he had thrown them into the river as he passed over. Two years after this, the third brother, the Sultān Shujā, deposed Mahmūd, ascended the throne by the consent of his elder brother, and, as a fair specimen of his notions of retributive justice, he blew away from the mouths of

¹ Ahmad Shāh defeated the Marāthās in the third great battle of Pānīpat, A.D. 1761. He had conquered the Panjāb in 1748. He invaded India five times.

² In 1773.

cannon, not only Ashik himself, but his wife and all his innocent and unoffending children.

He intended to put out the eyes of his deposed brother, Mahmūd, but was dissuaded from it by his mother and Zamān Shāh, who now pointed out to him the place where he had concealed the great diamond. Mahmūd made his escape from prison, raised a party, drove out his brothers, and once more ascended the throne. The two brothers sought an asylum in the Honourable Company's territories; and have from that time resided at an out frontier station of Lūdiāna, upon the banks of the Hyphasis,¹ upon a liberal pension assigned for their maintenance by our government. On their way through the territories of the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh, Shujā was discovered to have this great diamond, the Mountain of Light, about his person; and he was, by a little torture skilfully applied to the mind and body, made to surrender it to his generous host.² Mahmūd was succeeded in the government of the

¹ Lūdiāna is named from the Lodī Afghāns, who founded it in 1480. The name is commonly mis-spelled Loodhiana (Lūdhiana), as if derived from the Hindoo caste named Lodhī, with which it has nothing to do. The town is now the headquarters of the district of the same name under the Panjāb government. Part of the district lapsed to the British government in 1836, other parts lapsed during the years 1846 and 1847, and other parts came from territory already British by rearrangement of jurisdiction. (Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. Loodiana.) Hyphasis is the Greek name for the Biās river.

² The above history of the Kohinūr may, I believe, be relied upon. I received a narrative of it from Shāh Zamān, the blind old king himself, through General Smith, who commanded the troops at Lūdiāna; forming a detail of the several revolutions too long and too full of new names for insertion here. [W. H. S.] The above note is, in the original edition, misplaced, and appended to two paragraphs of the text, which have no connection with the story of the diamond, and really belong to Chapter XLVII, to which these paragraphs have been removed in this edition.

The author assumes the identity of the Kohinūr with the great diamond found in one of the Golconda mines, and presented by Amīr Jumla to Shāh Jahān. The much-disputed history of the Kohinūr has been exhaustively discussed by Mr. Valentine Ball, F.R.S. (Tavernier's

fortress and province of Herāt by his son Kāmran ; but the throne of Kābul was seized by the mayor of the palace, who bequeathed it to his son Dost Muhammad, a man, in all the qualities requisite in a sovereign, immeasurably superior to any member of the house of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. Ranjīt Singh had wrested from him the province of Peshāwar in times of difficulty, and, as we would not

Travels in India ; Appendix I, The Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-nur ; and II, Summary History of the Koh-i-nur). He has proved that the Kohinūr is almost certainly the diamond given by Amīr (Mīr) Jumla to Shāh Jahān, though now much reduced in weight by mutilation and repeated cutting. Assuming the identity of the Kohinūr with Amīr Jumla's gift, the leading incidents in the history of this famous jewel are as follows :—

Event.	Approximate Date.
Found at mine of Kollūr on the Kistna (Krishna) river	Not known
Presented to Shāh Jahān by Mīr Jumla, being uncut, and weighing about 756 English carats .	1656 or 1657
Ground by Hortensio Borgio, and greatly reduced in weight.	about 1657
Seen and weighed by Tavernier in Aurangzēb's treasury, its weight being $268\frac{1}{5}$ English carats .	1665
Taken by Nādir Shāh of Persia from Muhammad Shāh of Delhi, and named Kohinūr	1739
Inherited by Shāh Rukh, grandson of Nādir Shāh .	1747
Given up by Shāh Rukh to Ahmad Shāh Abdālī .	1751
Inherited by Taimūr, son of Ahmad Shāh . .	1773
Inherited by Shāh Zamān, son of Taimūr . .	1793
Taken by Shāh Shujā, brother of Shāh Zamān .	1795
Taken by Ranjīt Singh, of Lahore, from Shāh Shujā .	1813
Inherited by Dalīp Singh, son of Ranjīt Singh .	1839
Annexed, with the Panjāb, and passed, through John Lawrence's waistcoat pocket (see his Life), into the possession of H.M. the Queen, its weight then being $186\frac{1}{16}$ English carats .	1849
Exhibited at Great Exhibition in London . .	1851
Recut under supervision of Messrs. Garrards, and reduced in weight to $106\frac{1}{16}$ English carats .	1852

The difference in weight between $268\frac{1}{5}$ carats in 1665 and $186\frac{1}{16}$ carats in 1849 seems to be due to mutilation of the stone during its stay in Persia and Afghanistan.

assist him in recovering it from our old ally he thought himself justified in seeking the aid of those who would, the Russians and Persians, who were eager to avail themselves of so fair an occasion to establish a footing in India. Such a footing would have been manifestly incompatible with the peace and security of our dominions in India, and we were obliged, in self-defence, to give to Shujā the aid which he had so often before in vain solicited, to enable him to recover the throne of his very limited number of legal ancestors.¹

¹ The policy of the first Afghan war has been, it is hardly necessary to observe, very much disputed, and the author's confident defence of Lord Auckland's action cannot be accepted without much reservation.



CHAPTER XLIX¹

Pindhāri System—Character of the Marāthā Administration—Cause of their Dislike to the Paramount Power.

THE attempt of the Marquis of Hastings to rescue India from that dreadful scourge, the Pindhāri system, involved him in a war with all the great Marāthā states, except Gwālīor; that is, with the Peshwā at Pūnā, Holkāṛ at Indore, and the Bhonslā at Nāgpur; and Gwālīor was prevented from joining the other states in their unholy league against us only by the presence of the grand division of the army, under the personal command of the Mārquis, in the immediate vicinity of his capital. It was not that these chiefs liked the Pindhāris, or felt any interest in their welfare, but because they were always anxious to crush that rising paramount authority which had the power, and had always manifested the will, to interpose and prevent the free indulgence of their predatory habits—the free exercise of that weapon, a standing army, which the disorders incident upon the decline and fall of the Muhammadan army had put into their hands, and which a continued series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours could alone enable them to pay or keep under control. They seized with avidity any occasion of quarrel with the paramount power which seemed likely to unite them all in one great effort to shake it off; and they are still prepared to do the same, because they feel that they could easily extend their depredations if that power were withdrawn; and they know no other road to wealth and

¹ Chapter I of Vol. II of original edition.

glory but such successful depredations. Their ancestors rose by them, their states were formed by them, and their armies have been maintained by them. They look back upon them for all that seems to them honourable in the history of their families. Their bards sing of them in all their marriage and funeral processions; and, as their imaginations kindle at the recollection, they detest the arm that is extended to defend the wealth and the industry of the surrounding territories from their grasp. As the industrious classes acquire and display their wealth in the countries around, during a long peace, under a strong and settled government, these native chiefs, with their little disorderly armies, feel precisely as an English country gentleman would feel with a pack of fox-hounds, in a country swarming with foxes, and without the privilege of hunting them.¹

Their armies always took the auspices and set out *kingdom taking* (mulk girī) after the Dasahra,² in November, as regularly as English gentlemen go partridge-shooting on the 1st of September; and I may here give, as a specimen, the excursion of Jean Baptiste Filose,³ who sallied forth on such an expedition, at the head of a division of Sindhia's army, just before this Pindhārī war commenced. From Gwālīor he proceeded to Karauli,⁴ and took from that chief the district of Sabalgarh, yielding four lākhs of rupees yearly.⁵ He then took the territory of the Rājā of Chandēri,⁶ Mor Pahlād, one of the oldest of the Bundēlkhand chiefs, which then yielded about seven lākhs

¹ For the characteristics of the Marāthās and Pindhārīs, see *ante*, p. 158.

² *Ante*, p.p. 213, 292.

³ *Ante*, p. 140.

⁴ A small principality, about 70 miles equidistant from Agra, Gwālīor, Mathurā, Alwar, Jaipur, and Tonk. The attack on Karauli occurred in 1813. Full details are given in the author's "Report on Budhuk alias Bagree Decoits," p.p. 99-104.

⁵ Four hundred thousand rupees.

⁶ *Ante*, p. 304.



of rupees,¹ but now yields only four. The Rājā got an allowance of forty thousand rupees a year. He then took the territories of the Rājās of Raghugarh² and Bajranggarh,³ yielding three lākhs a year; and Bahādurgarh, yielding two lakhs a year;⁴ and the three princes got fifty thousand rupees a year for subsistence among them. He then took Lopar, yielding two lākhs and a half, and assigned the Rājā twenty-five thousand. He then took Garhā Kota, whose chief gets subsistence from our government. Baptiste had just completed his kingdom-taking expedition, when our armies took the field against the Pindhāris; and, on the termination of that war in 1817, all these acquisitions were confirmed and guaranteed to his master Sindhia by our government. It cannot be supposed that either he or his army can ever feel any great attachment towards a paramount authority that has the power and the will to interpose, and prevent their indulging in such sporting excursions as these, or any great disinclination to take advantage of any occasion that may seem likely to unite all the native chiefs in a common effort to crush it. The Nepalese have the same feeling as the Marāthās in a still stronger degree, since their kingdom-taking excursions had been still greater and more successful; and, being all soldiers from the same soil, they were easily persuaded, by a long series of successful aggressions, that their courage was superior to that of all other men.⁵

¹ Seven hundred thousand rupees.

² A petty state in Mālwa.

³ A stronghold 11 miles south of Gūnā (Goonah), and about 140 miles distant from Gwālior.

⁴ Three hundred thousand and two hundred thousand rupees, respectively.

⁵ On the coronation or installation of every new prince of the house of Sindhia, orders are given to plunder a few shops in the town as a part of the ceremony, and this they call or consider 'taking the auspices.' Compensation is *supposed* to be made to the proprietors, but rarely is made. I believe the same auspices are taken at the installation of a new prince of every other Marāthā house. The Moghal invaders of India were, in the same manner, obliged to allow

In the year 1833, the Gwālior territory yielded a net revenue to the treasury of ninety-two lākhs of rupees, after discharging all the local costs of the civil and fiscal administration of the different districts, in officers, establishments, charitable institutions, religious endowments, military fiefs, &c.¹ In the remote districts, which are much infested by their armies to *take the auspices* in the sack of a few towns, though they had surrendered without resistance. They were given up to pillage as a *religious duty*. Even the accomplished Bābar was obliged to concede this privilege to his army. [W. H. S.]

- In reply to the editor's inquiries, Colonel Biddulph, officiating Resident at Gwālior, has kindly communicated the following information on the subject of the above note, in a letter dated 30th December, 1892. "The custom of looting some 'Banias' shops on the installation of a new Mahārāja in Gwālior is still observed. It was observed when the present Mādho Rāo Sindhia was installed on the *gādi* on 3rd July, 1886, and the looting was stopped by the police on the owners of the shops calling out 'Dohai Mādho Mahārāj kī !' Five shops were looted on the occasion, and compensation to the amount of Rs. 427, 4, 3 was paid to the owners. My informant tells me that the custom has apparently no connection with religion, but is believed to refer to the days when the period between the decease of one ruler and the accession of his successor was one of disorder and plunder. The maintenance of the custom is supposed to notify to the people that they must now look to the new ruler for protection.

According to another informant, some 'banias' are called by the palace officers and directed to open their shops in the palace precincts, and money is given them to stock their shops. The poor people are then allowed to loot then. No shops are allowed to be looted in the bazaar.

I cannot learn that any particular name is given to the ceremony, and there appears to be some doubt as to its meaning ; but the best information seems to show that the reason assigned above is the correct one.

I cannot give any information as to the existence of the custom in other Mahratta states."

'Bania,' or 'baniyā,' means shopkeeper, especially a grain dealer ; 'gādi,' or 'gaddi,' is the cushioned seat, also known as 'masnad,' which serves a Hindoo prince as a throne ; and 'dohāi' is the ordinary form of a cry for redress.

¹ Ninety-two lākhs of rupees were then worth more than £920,000. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (ed. 1885) states the estimated total revenue of the Gwālior State as £1,200,000. It is impossible now to state silver revenues in terms of gold with any approach to accuracy.

the predatory tribes of Bhils,¹ and in consequence badly peopled and cultivated, the net revenue is estimated to be about one-third of the gross collections ; but, in the districts near the capital, which are tolerably well cultivated, the net revenue brought to the treasury is about five-sixths of the gross collections ; and these collections are equal to the whole annual rent of the land ; for every man by whom the land is held or cultivated is a mere tenant at will, liable every season to be turned out, to give place to any other man that may offer more for the holding.

There is nowhere to be seen upon the land any useful or ornamental work, calculated to attach the people to the soil or to their villages ; and, as hardly any of the recruits for the regiments are drawn from the peasantry of the country, the agricultural classes have nowhere any feeling of interest in the welfare or existence of the government. I am persuaded that there is not a single village in all the Gwālīor dominions in which nine-tenths of the people would not be glad to see that government destroyed, under the persuasion that they could not possibly have a worse, and would be very likely to find a better.

The present force at Gwālīor consists of three regiments of infantry, under Colonel Alexander ; six under the command of Apājī, the adopted son of the late Bālā Bāi ;² eleven under Colonel Jacobs and his son ; five under Colonel Jean Baptiste Filose ; two under the command of the Māmū Sāhib, the maternal uncle of the Mahārājā ; three in what is called Bābū Bāoli's camp ; in all thirty regiments, consisting, when complete, of six hundred men

¹ The Bhil tribes are included in the large group of tribes which have been driven back by the more cultivated races into the hills and jungles. They are found among the woods along the banks of the Nerbudda, Taptī, and Mahī, and in many parts of Central India and Rājputāna. Of late years they have generally kept quiet, in the earlier part of the century they gave much trouble in Khāndēsh. In Rājputāna two irregular corps of Bhils have been organized.

² Daughter of Mādhojī (Mādhava Rāo) Sindhia. She died in 1834. See *post*, Vol. II, Chap. XV.

each, with four field-pieces. The "Jinsi," or artillery, consists of two hundred guns of different calibre. There are but few corps of cavalry, and these are not considered very efficient, I believe.¹

Robbers and murderers of all descriptions have always been in the habit of taking the field in India immediately after the festival of the Dasahrā,² at the end of October, from the sovereign of a state at the head of his armies, down to the leader of a little band of pickpockets from the corner of some obscure village. All invoke the Deity, and take the auspices to ascertain his will, nearly in the same way; and all expect that he will guide them successfully through their enterprises, as long as they find the omens favourable. No one among them ever dreams that his undertaking can be less acceptable to the Deity than that of another, provided he gives him the same due share of what he acquires in his thefts, his robberies, or his conquests, in sacrifices and offerings upon his shrines, and in donations to his priests.³ Nor does the robber often dream that he shall be considered a less respectable citizen by the circle in which he moves than the soldier, provided he spends his income as liberally, and discharges all his duties in his relations with them as well; and this he generally

¹ According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* (ed. 1885) the Gwālior army, after the increase sanctioned for services rendered in the Mutiny, stood at 48 guns, 6,000 cavalry, and 5,000 infantry. "In 1886 the fort of Gwālior and the cantonment of Morār were surrendered by the Government of India to Sindhia in exchange for the fort and town of Jhānsi. Both forts were mutually surrendered and occupied on 10th March, 1886. As the occupation of the fort of Gwālior necessitated an increase of Sindhia's army, the Mahārājā was allowed to add 3,000 men to his infantry." (*Letter of Officiating Resident, dated 30th Dec., 1892.*)

² *Ate*, p.p. 213, 292, 355.

³ In "Ramaseena" the author has fully described the practices of the Thugs in taking omens, and the feelings with which they regarded their profession. Similar information concerning other criminal classes is copiously given in the "Report on Budhuk alias Bagree Decoits."

does to secure their good-will, whatever may be the character of his depredations upon distant circles of society and communities. The man who returned to Oudh, or Rohilkhand, after a campaign under a Pindhārī chief, was as well received as one who returned after serving one under Sindhia, Holkār, or Ranjit Singh. A friend of mine one day asked a leader of a band of "dacoits," or banditti, whether they did not often commit murder. "God forbid," said he, "that we should ever commit murder; but, if people choose to oppose us, we, of course, *strike and kill*; but you do the same. I hear that there is now a large assemblage of troops in the upper provinces going to take foreign countries; if they are opposed, they will kill people. We only do the same."¹ The history of the rise of every nation in the world unhappily bears out the notion that princes are only robbers upon a large scale, till their ambition is curbed by a balance of power among nations.

On the 25th² we came on to Dhamēlā, fourteen miles, over a plain, with the range of sandstone hills on the left, receding from us to the west; and that on the right receding still more to the east. Here and there were some insulated hills of the same formation rising abruptly from the plain to our right. All the villages we saw were built upon masses of this sandstone rock, rising abruptly at intervals from the surface of the plain, in horizontal strata. These hillocks afford the people stone for building, and great facilities for defending themselves against the inroads of freebooters. There is not, I suppose, in the world a finer stone for building than these sandstone hills afford; and we passed a great many carts carrying them off to distant places in slabs or flags from ten to sixteen feet long, two to three feet wide, and six inches thick. They are white, with very minute pink spots, and of a texture so very fine that they would be taken for indurated clay on a

¹ These notions are still prevalent.

² December, 1835, Christmas Day.

slight inspection. The houses of the poorest peasants are here built of this beautiful freestone, which, after two hundred years, looks as if it had been quarried only yesterday.

About three miles from our tents we crossed over the little river Ghorapachhār,¹ flowing over a bed of this sandstone. The soil all the way very light, and the cultivation scanty and bad. Except within the enclosures of men's houses, scarcely a tree to be anywhere seen to give shelter and shade to the weary traveller; and we could find no ground for our camp with a shrub to shelter man or beast. All are swept away to form gun-carriages for the Gwālior artillery, with a philosophical disregard to the comforts of the living, the repose of the dead who planted them with a view to a comfortable berth in the next world, and to the will of the gods to whom they are dedicated. There is nothing left upon the land of animal or vegetable life to enrich it; nothing of stock but what is necessary to draw from the soil an annual crop, and which looks to one harvest for its entire return. The sovereign proprietor of the soil lets it out by the year, in farms or villages, to men who depend entirely upon the year's return for the means of payment. He, in his turn, lets the lands in detail to those who till them, and who depend for their subsistence, and for the means of paying their rents, upon the returns of the single harvest. There is no manufacture anywhere to be seen, save of brass pots and rude cooking utensils; no trade or commerce, save in the transport of the rude produce of the land to the great camp at Gwālior, upon the backs of bullocks, for want of roads fit for wheeled carriages. No one resides in the villages, save those whose labour is indispensably necessary to the rudest tillage, and those who collect the dues of government, and are paid

¹ "Overthrower of horses"; the same epithet is applied to the Utangan river, south of the Agra district, owing to the difficulty with which it is crossed when in flood. (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, vol. vii, p.

upon the lowest possible scale. Such is the state of the Gwālior territories in every part of India where I have seen them.¹ The miseries and misrule of the Oudh, Hyderabad, and other Muhammadan governments, are heard of everywhere, because there are, under these governments, a middle and higher class upon the land to suffer and proclaim them; but those of the Gwālior state are never heard of, because no such classes are ever allowed to grow up upon the land. Had Russia governed Poland, and Turkey Greece, in the way that Gwālior has governed her conquered territories, we should never have heard of the wrongs of the one or the other.

In my morning's ride the day before I left Gwālior, I saw a fine leopard standing by the side of the most frequented road, and staring at every one who passed. It was held by two men, who sat by and talked to it as if it had been a human being. I thought it was an animal for show, and I was about to give them something, when they told me that they were servants of the Mahārājā, and were training the leopard to bear the sight and society of man. "It had," they said, "been caught about three months ago in the jungles, where it could never bear the sight and society of man, or of any animal that it could not prey upon; and must be kept upon the most frequented road till quite tamed. Leopards taken when very young would," they said, "do very well as pets, but never answered for hunting; a good leopard for hunting must, before taken, be allowed to be a season or two providing for himself, and living upon the deer he takes in the jungles and plains."

¹ Sindhia's territories, measuring 33,119 square miles, are in parts intermixed with those of other princes, and so extend over a wide space. In area the Gwālior State, among the protected Native States, is second only to the Nizām's dominions. Gwālior and its government have been discussed already in Chapter XXXVI.

CHAPTER L¹

Dhōlpur, Capital of the Jāt Chiefs of Gohad—Consequence of Obstacles to the Prosecution of Robbers.

ON the morning of the 26th,² we sent on one tent, with the intention of following it in the afternoon; but, about three o'clock a thunder-storm came on so heavily that I was afraid that which we occupied would come down upon us; and, putting my wife and child in a palankeen, I took them to the dwelling of an old Bairāgi, about two hundred yards from us. He received us very kindly, and paid us many compliments about the honour we had conferred upon him. He was a kind and, I think, a good old man, and had six disciples who seemed to reverence him very much. A large stone image of Hanumān, the monkey-god, painted red, and a good store of buffaloes, very comfortably sheltered from the pitiless storm, were in an inner court. The peacocks in dozens sought shelter under the walls and in the tree that stood in the courtyard; and I believe that they would have come into the old man's apartment had they not seen our white faces there. I had a great deal of talk with him, but did not take any notes of it. These old Bairāgis, who spend the early and middle parts of life as disciples in pilgrimages to the celebrated temples of their god Vishnu in all parts of India, and the latter part of it as high priests or apostles in listening to the reports of the numerous disciples employed in similar wanderings, are, perhaps, the most intelligent men in the

¹ Chapter II of Vol. II of original edition.

² December, 1835.



country. They are from all the castes and classes of society. The lowest Hindoo may become a Bairāgi, and the very highest are often tempted to become so ; the service of the god to which they devote themselves levelling all distinctions. Few of them can write or read, but they are shrewd observers of men and things, and often exceedingly agreeable and instructive companions to those who understand them, and can make them enter into unreserved conversation. Our tent stood out the storm pretty well, but we were obliged to defer our march till the next day. On the afternoon of the 27th we went on twelve miles, over a plain of deep alluvion, through which two rivers have cut their way to the Chambal ; and, as usual, the ravines along their banks are deep, long and dreary.

About half way we were overtaken by one of the heaviest showers of rain I ever saw ; it threatened us from neither side, but began to descend from an apparently small bed of clouds directly over our heads, which seemed to spread out on every side as the rain fell, and fill the whole vault of heaven with one dark and dense mass. The wind changed frequently ; and in less than half an hour the whole surface of the country over which we were travelling was under water. This dense mass of clouds passed off in about two hours to the east ; but twice, when the sun opened and beamed divinely upon us in a cloudless sky to the west, the wind changed suddenly round, and rushed back angrily from the east, to fill up the space which had been quickly rarefied by the genial heat of its rays, till we were again enveloped in darkness, and began to despair of reaching any human habitation before night. Some hail fell among the rain, but not large enough to hurt any one. The thunder was loud and often startling to the strongest nerves, and the lightning vivid, and almost incessant. We managed to keep the road because it was merely a beaten pathway below the common level of the country, and we could trace it by the greater depth of the water, and the absence of all shrubs and grass. All roads in India soon

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become watercourses—they are nowhere metalled ; and, being left for four or five months every year without rain, their soil is reduced to powder by friction, and carried off by the winds over the surrounding country.¹ I was on horseback, but my wife and child were secure in a good palankeen that sheltered them from the rain. The bearers were obliged to move with great caution and slowly, and I sent on every person I could spare that they might *keep moving*, for the cold blast blowing over their thin and wet clothes seemed intolerable to those who were idle. My child's playmate, Gulāb, a lad of about ten years of age, resolutely kept by the side of the palankeen, trotting through the water with his teeth chattering as if he had been in an ague. The rain at last ceased, and the sky in the west cleared up beautifully about half an hour before sunset. Little Gulāb threw off his stuffed and quilted vest, and got a good dry English blanket to wrap round him from the palankeen. We soon after reached a small village, in which I treated all who had remained with us to as much coarse sugar (*gur*) as they could eat ; and, as people of all castes can eat of sweetmeats from the hands of confectioners without prejudice to their caste, and this sugar is considered to be the best of all good things for guarding against colds in man or beast, they all ate very heartily, and went on in high spirits. As the sun sank below us on the left, a bright moon shone out upon us from the right, and about an hour after dark we reached our tents on the north bank of the Kuārī river, where we found an excellent dinner for ourselves, and good fires, and good shelter for our servants. Little rain had fallen near the tents, and the

¹ The author's remark that in India the roads are "nowhere metalled" must seem hardly credible to a modern traveller, who sees the country intersected by thousands of miles of metalled road. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Lahore, constructed in Lord Dalhousie's time, alone measures about 1,200 miles. The development of roads during the last fifty years has been enormous, and yet the mileage of good roads would have to be increased tenfold to put India on an equality with the more advanced countries of Europe.

river Kuāri, over which we had to cross, had not, fortunately, much swelled; nor did much fall on the ground we had left; and, as the tents there had been struck and laden before it came on, they came up the next morning early, and went on to our next ground.

On the 28th, we went on to Dhōlpur, the capital of the Jāt chiefs of Gohad,¹ on the left bank of the Chambal, over a plain with a variety of crops, but not one that requires two seasons to reach maturity. The soil excellent in quality and deep, but not a tree anywhere to be seen, nor any such thing as a work of ornament or general utility of any kind. We saw the fort of Dhōlpur at a distance of six miles, rising apparently from the surface of the level plain, but in reality situated on the summit of the opposite and high bank of a large river, its foundation at least one hundred feet above the level of the water. The immense pandemonia of ravines that separated us from this fort were not visible till we began to descend into them some two or three miles from the bed of the river. Like all the ravines that border the rivers in these parts, they are naked, gloomy, and ghastly, and the knowledge that no solitary traveller is ever safe in them does not tend to improve the impression they make upon us. The river is a beautiful clear stream, here flowing over a bed of fine sand with a motion so gentle, that one can hardly conceive it is she who has played such fantastic tricks along the borders, and made such "frightful gashes" in them. As we passed over this noble reach of the river Chambal in a ferry-boat, the boatman told us of the magnificent bridge formed here by the Baiza Bāi for Lord William Bentinck in 1832, from boats brought down from Agra for the purpose. "Little," said they, "did it avail her with the Governor-General in her hour of need."²

¹ *Ante*, Chapter XXXVI, p. 329.

² The Bāiza Bāi was the widow of Daulat Rāo Sindhia, who died on March 21st, 1827. With the consent of the Government of India, she adopted a boy as his successor, but, being an ambitious and intriguing



The town of Dhōlpur lies some short way in from the north bank of the Chambal, at the extremity of a range of sandstone hills which runs diagonally across that of Gwālior. This range was once capped with basalt, and some boulders are still found upon it in a state of rapid decomposition. It was quite refreshing to see the beautiful mango groves on the Dhōlpur side of the river, after passing through a large tract of country in which no tree of any kind was to be seen. On returning from a long ride over the range of sandstone hills the morning after we reached Dhōlpur, I passed through an encampment of camels taking rude iron from some mines in the hills to the south towards Agra. They waited here within the frontier of a native state for a pass from the Agra custom house,¹ lest any one should, after they enter our frontier, pretend that they were going to smuggle it, and thus get them into trouble. "Are you not," said I, "afraid to remain here so near the ravines of the Chambal, when thieves are said to be so numerous?" "Not at all," replied they. "I suppose thieves do not think it worth while to steal rude iron?" "Thieves, sir, think it worth while to steal anything they can get, but we do not fear them much here." "Where, then, do you fear them much?" "We fear them when we get into the Company's territories." "And how is this, when we have good police establishments, and the Dhōlpur people none?" "When the Dhōlpur people get hold of

woman, she tried to keep all power in her own hands. The young Mahārājā fled from her, and took refuge in the Residency in October, 1832. In December of the same year Lord William Bentinck visited Gwālior, and assumed an attitude of absolute neutrality. The result was that trouble continued, and seven months later the Mahārājā again fled to the Residency. The troops then revolted against the Baiza Bāi, and compelled her to retire to Dhōlpur. This event put an end to her political activity. Ultimately, she was allowed to return to Gwālior, and died there in 1862. (Mälleson, *The Native States of India*, p.p. 160-164.) The author wrote an unpublished history of Baiza Bāi.

¹ Long since abolished.

a thief, they make him disgorge all that he has got of our property *for us*, and they confiscate all the rest that he has *for themselves*, and cut off his nose or his hands, and turn him adrift to deter others. You, on the contrary, when you get hold of a thief, worry us to death in the prosecution of your courts ; and, when we have proved the robbery to your satisfaction, you leave all this ill-gotten wealth to his family,¹ and provide him with good food and clothing for himself, while he works for you a couple of years on the roads.² The consequence is, that here fellows are afraid to rob a traveller, if they find him at all on his guard, as we generally are, while in your districts they rob us where and when they like."

"But, my friends, you are sure to recover what we do get of your property from the thieves." "Not quite sure of that neither," said they, "for the greater part is generally absorbed on its way back to us through the officers of your court ; and we would always rather put up with the first loss than run the risk of a greater by prosecution, if we happen to get robbed within the Company's territories."

The loss and annoyances to which prosecutors and witnesses are subject in our courts are a source of very great evil to the country. They enable police-officers everywhere to grow rich upon the concealment of crimes. The man who has been robbed will bribe them to conceal the robbery, that he may escape the further loss of the prosecution in our courts, generally very distant ; and the witnesses will bribe them to avoid attending to give evidence ; the whole village communities bribe them, because every man feels that they have the power of

¹ The law now permits the person injured to be compensated out of any fine realized.

² The system of employing gangs of prisoners on the roads was open to great abuses, and has been long given up. The prisoners are now, as a rule, employed only on the jail premises, and cannot be utilized for outside work, except under special circumstances, by special sanction.

getting him summoned to the court in some capacity or other, if they like ; and that they will certainly like to do so, if not bribed.

The obstacles which our system opposes to the successful prosecution of robbers of all denominations and descriptions deprive our government of all popular support in the administration of criminal justice ; and this is considered everywhere to be the worst, and, indeed, the only radically bad feature of our government. No magistrate hopes to get a conviction against one in four of the most atrocious gang of robbers and murderers of his district, and his only resource is in the security laws, which enable him to keep them in jail under a requisition of security for short periods. To this an idle or apathetic magistrate will not have recourse, and under him these robbers have a free license.

In England, a judicial acquittal does not send back the culprit to follow the same trade in the same field, as in India ; for the published proceedings of the court bring down upon him the indignation of society—the moral and religious feelings of his fellow-men are arrayed against him, and from these salutary checks no flaw in the indictment can save him. Not so in India. There no moral or religious feelings interpose to assist or to supply the deficiencies of the penal law. Provided he eats, drinks, smokes, marries, and makes his offerings to his priest according to the rules of his caste, the robber and the murderer incurs no odium in the circle in which he moves, either religious or moral, and this is the only circle for whose feelings he has any regard.¹

¹ The notes to this edition have recorded many changes in India, but no change has taken place in the difficulties which beset the administration of criminal law. They are still those which the author describes, and Police Commissions cannot remove them. The power to exact security for good behaviour from known bad characters still exists, and, when discreetly used, is of great value. The conviction of atrocious robbers and murderers is, perhaps, less rare than it was in the author's time, though many still escape even the minor penalty of arrest.

The man who passed off his bad coin at Datiyā, passed off more at Dhōlpur while my advanced people were coming in, pretending that he wanted things for me, and was in a great hurry to be ready with them at my tents by the time I came up. The bad rupees were brought to a native officer of my guard, who went with the shopkeepers in search of the knave, but he could nowhere be found. The gates of the town were shut up all night at my suggestion, and in the morning every lodging-house in the town was searched for him in vain—he had gone on. I had left some sharp men behind me, expecting that he would endeavour to pass off his bad money immediately after my departure; but in expectation of this he was now evidently keeping a little in advance of me. I sent on some men with the shopkeepers whom he had cheated to our next stage, in the hope of overtaking him; but he had left the place before they arrived without passing any of his bad coin, and gone on to Agra. The shopkeepers could not be persuaded to go any further after him, for, if they caught him, they should, they said, have infinite trouble in prosecuting him in our courts, without any chance of recovering from him what they had lost.

On the 29th, we remained at Dhōlpur to receive and return the visits of the young Rājā, or, as he is called, the young Rānā, a lad of about fifteen years of age, very plain, and very dull. He came about ten in the forenoon with a very respectable and well-dressed retinue, and a tolerable show of elephants and horses. The uniforms of his guards were made after those of our own soldiers, and did not please me half so much as those of the Datiyā guards, who were permitted to consult their own tastes; and the music of the drums and fifes seemed to me infinitely inferior to that of the mounted minstrels of my old friend Parichhat.¹ The lad had with him about a

¹ The title of the Dhōlpur chief is now Mahārājā Rānā. In 1882-83 his army consisted of 600 cavalry, 3,650 infantry, 32 field guns, and 100 gunners. (*Imp. Gazetteer*, ed. 1885.)

dozen old public servants entitled to chairs, some of whom had served his father above thirty years; while the ancestors of others had served his grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and I could not help telling the lad in their presence that "these were the greatest ornament of a prince's throne, and the best signs and pledges of a good government." They were all evidently much pleased at the compliment, and I thought they deserved to be pleased, from the good character they bore among the peasantry of the country. I mentioned that I had understood the boatmen of the Chambal at Dhōlpur never caught or ate fish. The lad seemed embarrassed, and the minister took upon himself to reply that "there was no market for it, since the Hindoos of Dhōlpur never ate fish, and the Muhammadans had all disappeared." I asked the lad whether he was fond of hunting. He seemed again confounded, and the minister said that "his highness never either hunted or fished, as people of his caste were prohibited from destroying life." "And yet," said I, "they have often showed themselves good soldiers in battle." They were all pleased again, and said that they were not prohibited from killing tigers; but that there was no jungle of any kind near Dhōlpur, and, consequently, no tigers to be found. The Jāts are descendants of the Getæ, and were people of very low caste, or rather of no caste at all, among the Hindoos, and they are now trying to raise themselves by abstaining from killing and eating animals.¹

¹ The identification of the Jāts, or Jats, with the Getæ is by no means well established, and is not even probable. The author exaggerates the lowness of the social rank of the Jāts, who cannot properly be described as people of "very low caste." They are, and have long been, numerous and powerful in the Panjāb and the neighbouring countries. It is true that they hate Brahmans, and care little for Brahman notions of propriety, either as regards food or marriage. To a certain extent they stand outside the orthodox Hindoo system, but are rather heterodox than low-caste. The Rājās of Bharatpur, Dhōlpur, Nābha, Patialā, and Jind are all Jāts. The Jāts are a fine and interesting people, and seem to suffer little



Among Hindoos this is everything ; a man of low caste is '*sab kuchchh khātā*,' sticks at nothing in the way of eating ; and a man of high caste is a man who abstains from eating anything but vegetable or farinaceous food ; if, at the same time, he abstains from using in his cook-room all woods but one, and has that one washed before he uses it, he is canonized.¹ Having attained to military renown and territorial dominion in the usual way by robbery, the Jāts naturally enough seek the distinction of high caste to enable them the better to enjoy their position in society.

It had been stipulated that I should walk to the bottom of the steps to receive the Rānā, as is the usage on such occasions, and carpets were accordingly spread thus far. Here he got out of his chair, and I led him into the large room of the bungalow, which we occupied during our stay, followed by all his and my attendants. The bungalow had been built by the former Resident at Gwālīor, the Honourable R. Cavendish, for his residence during the latter part of the rains, when Gwālīor is considered to be unhealthy. At his departure the Rānā purchased this bungalow for the use of European gentlemen and ladies passing through his capital.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, I went to return his visit in a small palace not yet finished, a pretty piece of miniature fortification, surrounded by what they call their "*chhāonī*," or cantonments. The streets are good, and the buildings neat and substantial ; but there is nothing to

deterioration from the laxity of their matrimonial arrangements. They are skilled and industrious cultivators. A saying is now current in Upper India that, if the British power is ever broken, the succession will pass to the Jāts.

¹ This is the Brahman and Baniyā theory. A high-spirited Rājput of Rājputāna, full of pride in his long ancestry, and yet fond of wild boar's flesh, would indeed be wroth if denounced as a low-caste man. It is, however, unfortunately, quite true that all races which become entangled in the meshes of Hinduism tend to gradually surrender their freedom, and to become proud of submission to the senseless formalities and restrictions which the Brahman loves.

strike or particularly interest the stranger. The interview passed off without anything remarkable; and I was more than ever pleased with the people by whom this young chief is surrounded. Indeed, I had much reason to be pleased with the manners of all the people on this side of the Chambal. They are those of a people well pleased to see English gentlemen among them, and anxious to make themselves useful and agreeable to us. They know that their chief is indebted to the British government for all the country he has, and that he would be swallowed up by Sindhia's greedy army, were not the seven-fold shield of the Honourable Company spread over him. His establishments, civil and military, like those of the Bundelkhand chiefs, are raised from the peasantry and yeomanry of the country; who all, in consequence, feel an interest in the prosperity and independent respectability of their chief. On the Gwālior side, the members of all the public establishments know and feel that it is we who interpose and prevent their master from swallowing up all his neighbours, and thereby having increased means of promoting their interest and that of their friends; and they detest us all most cordially in consequence. The peasantry of the Gwālior territory seem to consider their own government as a kind of minotaur, which they would be glad to see destroyed, no matter how or by whom; since it gives no lucrative or honourable employment to any of their members, so as to interest either their pride or their affections; nor throws back among them for purposes of local advantage any of the produce of their land and labour which it exacts. It is worthy of remark that, though the Dhōlpur chief is peculiarly the creature of the British government, and indebted to it for all he has or ever will have, and though he has never had anything, and never can have, or can hope to have, anything from the poor pageant of the house of Taimūr, who now sits upon the throne of Delhi;¹ yet, on his seal of office he declares

¹ Akbar II. He was titular Emperor from A.D. 1806 to 1837, and

himself to be the slave and creature of that imperial "warrior for the faith of Islam." As he abstains from eating the good fish of the river Chambal to enhance his claim to caste among Hindoos, so he abstains from acknowledging his deep debt of gratitude to the Honourable Company, or the British government, with a view to give the rust of age to his rank and title. To acknowledge himself a creature of the British government were to acknowledge that he was a man of yesterday; to acknowledge himself the slave of the Emperor is to claim for his poor veins "the blood of a line of kings." The petty chiefs of Bundēlkhand, who are in the same manner especially dependent on the British government, do the same thing.

At Dhōlpur, there are some noble old mosques and mausoleums built three hundred years ago, in the reign of the Emperor Humāyūn, by some great officers of his government, whose remains still rest undisturbed among them, though the names of their families have been for many ages forgotten, and no men of their creed now live near to demand for them the respect of the living. These tombs are all elaborately built and worked out of the fine freestone of the country; and the trellis work upon some of their stone screens is still as beautiful as when first made. There are Persian and Arabic inscriptions upon all of them;¹ and I found from them that one of the mosques had been built by the Emperor Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1634, when he little dreamed that his three sons would here meet to fight the great fight for the throne, while he yet sat upon it.²

was succeeded by Bahādur Shāh II, the last of his line. The portrait of Akbar II is the frontispiece to Volume I of the original edition of this work, and a miniature portrait of him is given in the frontispiece of Volume II.

¹ One of these tombs is noticed in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, vol. xx, page 113, plate xxxvii.

² The three sons were Dārā, Aurangzēb, and Murād Baksh. Their contest for empire forms the subject of chapters xxxvii to xli of the first volume of the author's work, which chapters have not been reprinted in this edition.

CHAPTER LI¹

Influence of Electricity on Vegetation—Agra and its Buildings.

ON the 30th and 31st,² we went twenty-four miles over a dry plain, with a sandy soil covered with excellent crops where irrigated, and very poor one where not. We met several long strings of camels carrying grain from Agra to Gwālior. A single man takes charge of twenty or thirty, holding the bridle of the first, and walking on before its nose. The bridles of all the rest are tied one after the other to the saddles of those immediately preceding them, and all move along after the leader in single file. Water must tend to attract and to impart to vegetables a good deal of electricity and other vivifying powers that would otherwise lie dormant in the earth at a distance. The mere circumstance of moistening the earth from within reach of the roots would not be sufficient to account for the vast difference between the crops of fields that are irrigated, and those that are not. One day, in the middle of the season of the rains, I asked my gardener, while walking with him over my grounds, how it was that some of the fine clusters of bamboos had not yet begun to throw out their shoots. "We have not yet had a thunderstorm, sir," replied the gardener. "What in the name of God has the thunderstorm to do with the shooting of the bamboos?" asked I in amazement. "I don't know, sir," said he, "but certain it is that no bamboos begin to throw out their shoots well till we get a good deal of thunder and lightning." The

¹ Chapter III of Volume II of original edition.

² December, 1835.

thunder and lightning came, and the bamboo shoots soon followed in abundance. It might have been a mere coincidence ; or the tall bamboo may bring down from the passing clouds, and convey to the roots, the electric fluid they require for nourishment, or for conductors of nourishment.¹

In the Isle of France,² people have a notion that the mushrooms always come up best after a thunderstorm. Electricity has certainly much more to do in the business of the world than we are yet aware of, in the animal, mineral, and vegetable developments.

At our ground this day, I met a very respectable and intelligent native revenue officer who had been employed to settle some boundary disputes between the yeomen of our territory and those of the adjoining territory of Dhōlpur.

"The Honourable Company's rights and those of its yeomen must," said he, "be inevitably sacrificed in all such cases ; for the Dhōlpur chief, or his minister, says to all their witnesses, 'You are, of course, expected to speak the truth regarding the land in dispute ; but, by the sacred stream of the Ganges, if you speak so as to lose this estate one inch of it, you lose both your ears'—and most assuredly would they lose them," continued he, "if they were not to swear most resolutely that all the land in question belonged to Dhōlpur. Had I the same power to cut off the ears of witnesses on our side, we should meet on equal terms. Were I to threaten to cut them off, they would laugh in my face." There was much truth in what the poor man said, for the Dhōlpur witnesses always make it appear that the claims of their yeomen are just and

¹ It is not, perhaps, generally known, though it deserves to be so, that the bamboo seeds only once, and dies immediately after seeding. All bamboos from the same seed die at the same time, whenever they may have been planted. The life of the common large bamboo is about fifty years. [W. H. S.] The period is said to vary between thirty and sixty years. Bamboo seed is eaten as rice when obtainable. The author's theories about electricity are more ingenious than satisfactory.

² Better known as the Mauritius.

moderate, and a salutary dread of losing their ears operates, no doubt, very strongly. The threatened punishment of the prince is quick, while that of the gods, however just, is certainly very slow—

“ Ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est.”

On the 1st of January, 1836, we went on sixteen miles to Agra, and, when within about six miles of the city, the dome and minarets of the Taj opened upon us from behind a small grove of fruit-trees, close by us on the side of the road. The morning was not clear, but it was a good one for a first sight of this building, which appeared larger through the dusty haze than it would have done through a clear sky. For five-and-twenty years of my life had I been looking forward to the sight now before me. Of no building on earth had I heard so much as of this, which contains the remains of the Emperor Shāh Jahān and his wife, the father and mother of the children whose struggles for dominion have been already described. We had ordered our tents to be pitched in the gardens of this splendid mausoleum, that we might have our fill of the enjoyment which everybody seemed to derive from it; and we reached them about eight o'clock. I went over the whole building before I entered my tent, and, from the first sight of the dome and minarets on the distant horizon to the last glance back from my tent-ropes to the magnificent gateway that forms the entrance from our camp to the quadrangle in which they stand, I can truly say that everything surpassed my expectations. I at first thought the dome formed too large a portion of the whole building; that its neck was too long and too much exposed; and that the minarets were too plain in their design; but, after going repeatedly over every part, and examining the *tout ensemble* from all possible positions, and in all possible lights, from that of the full moon at midnight in a cloudless sky to that of the noonday sun, the mind seemed to repose in the calm persuasion that there was an entire

harmony of parts, a faultless congregation of architectural beauties, on which it could dwell for ever without fatigue.

After my quarter of a century of anticipated pleasure, I went on from part to part in the expectation that I must by-and-by come to something that would disappoint me ; but no, the emotion which one feels at first is never impaired ; on the contrary, it goes on improving from the first *coup d'œil* of the dome in the distance to the minute inspection of the last flower upon the screen round the tomb. One returns and returns to it with undiminished pleasure ; and, though at every return one's attention to the smaller parts becomes less and less, the pleasure which he derives from the contemplation of the greater, and of the whole collectively, seems to increase ; and he leaves with a feeling of regret that he could not have it all his life within his reach, and of assurance that the image of what he has seen can never be obliterated from his mind "while memory holds her seat." I felt that it was to me in architecture what Kemble and his sister, Mrs. Siddons, had been to me a quarter of a century before in acting—something that must stand alone—something that I should never cease to see clearly in my mind's eye, and yet never be able clearly to describe to others.¹

The Emperor and his Queen lie buried side by side in a vault beneath the building, to which we descend by a flight of steps. Their remains are covered by two slabs of marble ; and directly over these slabs, upon the floor above, in the great centre room under the dome, stand two other slabs, or cenotaphs, of the same marble exquisitely worked in mosaic. Upon that of the Queen, amid wreaths of flowers, are worked in black letters passages from the Korān, one of which, at the end facing the entrance, terminates with, "And defend us from the tribe of unbe-

¹ A letter of the author's, dated 13th March, 1809, is extant, in which he gives a full description of the performance of *Macbeth* at the Haymarket by Kemble and Mrs. Siddons on Saturday, 11th March. The author sailed in the *Devonshire* on the 24th March.

lievers ;" that very tribe which is now gathered from all quarters of the civilized world to admire the splendour of the tomb which was raised to perpetuate her name.¹ On the slab over her husband there are no passages from the Korān—merely mosaic work of flowers with his name and the date of his death.² I asked some of the learned Muhammadan attendants the cause of this difference, and was told that Shāh Jahān had himself designed the slab over his wife, and saw no harm in inscribing the *words of God* upon it ; but that the slab over himself was designed by his more pious son, Aurangzēb, who did not think it right to place these holy words upon a stone which the foot of man might some day touch, though that stone covered the remains of his own father. Such was this "man of prayers," this "Namāzī" (as Dara called him), to the last. He knew mankind well, and, above all, that part of them which he was called upon to govern, and which he governed for forty years with so much ability.³

¹ No European had ever before, I believe, noted this. [W. H. S.] See note on next page.

² The Empress had been a good deal exasperated against the Portuguese and Dutch by the treatment her husband received from them when a fugitive, after an unsuccessful rebellion against his father ; and her hatred to them extended, in some degree, to all Christians, whom she considered to be included in the term "Kāfir," or unbeliever. [W. H. S.] Prince Shāh Jahān (Khurram) rebelled against his father, Jahāngīr, in A.D. 1623, and submitted in A.D. 1625. The terrible punishment inflicted by Shāh Jahān when Emperor on the Portuguese of Hūgli (Hooghly) is related by Bernier (*Constable's ed.*, p.p. 177, 287). The Emperor had previously destroyed the Jesuits' church at Lahore completely, and the greater part of the church at Agra.

³ The cleverness, astuteness, energy, and business capacity of Aurangzēb are undoubted, and yet his long reign was a disastrous failure. The author reflects the praises of Muhammadans who cherish the memory of the "namāzī." The Emperor himself knew better when, in his old age, he wrote the pathetic words : "The instant which has been passed in power has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire" (Quoted by Lane-Poole in *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindostan illustrated by their Coins*, p. xxx).

The slab over the Queen occupies the centre of the apartments above and in the vault below, and that over her husband lies on the left as we enter. At one end of the slab in the vault her name is inwrought, "Mumtāz-i-mahal Bānū Bēgam," the ornament of the palace, Bānū Bēgam, and the date of her death, 1631. That of her husband and the date of his death, 1666, are inwrought upon the other.¹

¹ According to the compiler of the *Gazetteer* (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 706), the English versions of the inscriptions on the tombs are as follows :—

On the tomb of the Queen :—"The splendid resting-place of Arjmand Banu Bēgam, entitled Mumtaz-i-Mahal, who died 1040 Hijri." The year 1040 corresponded to the period July 31, A.D. 1630, to July 19, 1631 [O.S.].

On the tomb of Shāh Jahān :—"The sacred and most sublime sepulchre of His Majesty (whose dwelling is Paradise), second of the lords of felicity, Shāh Jahān, King. May his grave be fragrant ; 1076 Hijri." The year 1076 A.H. began on 4 July, A.D. 1665, and ended on 23rd June, A.D. 1666 [O.S.].

Extracts from the Korān, as the author observes, are also inscribed on the Queen's tomb and cenotaph. "Around the Bēgam's cenotaph, under the resonant dome, we read the usual formula :—"God, who is blessed and exalted, has said ;" and the verses 22 to 28 inclusive, from Chapter LXXXIII, *Those who give Short Measure*, followed by verse 30 from Chapter XLI, *Are Explained*, concluding with the first words of Chapter II, *The Cow*. At the cenotaph's north end we have verse 22 of Chapter LIX, *The Banishment*, and on the top are invocations and pious words, finishing with part of verse 7 and verse 8 from Chapter XL, *The Believer*.

Upon the crypt's central tomb [*scil.* the Queen's] are inscribed at the side 96 invocations ; "O possessor of dominion," "O glorious," "O praiseworthy," "O guide," and so forth, which with *bismillah*, etc., together make up the 99 names of God. At the tomb's northern end we find again Chapter LIX, verse 22, and, on the top, sentences which I am not able to identify." (*Mr. F. Dupré Thornton, in N.I. Notes and Queries*, Dec. 1892, Vol. II, p. 161). The editor has read these passages in Sale's Korān, and has failed to find the words, "And defend us from the tribe of unbelievers."

The phrase "sāhib kiṣān sānī," translated above as "second of the lords of felicity" is an astrological title, and means "second lord of [auspicious] conjunction [of the planets Venus and Jupiter]," the first such lord being Taimūr, the emperor's ancestor.

She died in giving birth to a daughter, who is said to have been heard crying in the womb by herself and her other daughters. She sent for the Emperor, and told him that she believed no mother had ever been known to survive the birth of a child so heard, and that she felt her end was near. She had, she said, only two requests to make; first, that he would not marry again after her death, and get children to contend with hers for his favour and dominions; and, secondly, that he would build for her the tomb with which he had promised to perpetuate her name. She died in giving birth to the child, as might have been expected when the Emperor, in his anxiety, called all the midwives of the city, and all his secretaries of state and privy counsellors to prescribe for her. Both her dying requests were granted. Her tomb was commenced upon immediately. No woman ever pretended to supply her place in the palace; nor had Shāh Jahān, that we know of, children by any other.¹ Tavernier saw this building completed and finished; and tells us that it occupied twenty thousand men for twenty-two years.² The mausoleum itself and all the

¹ The princess, who bore the titles "Mumtāz-i-Mahall," or "Exalted One of the Palace," and "Arjmand Bānū Bēgam," or "Noble Princess," was also known by the name of Nawāb Aliyā Bēgam, and Kudsia Bēgam. Her father, Asaf Khān, was the brother of Nūr Jahān, the celebrated empress of Jahāngīr, father and predecessor of Shāh Jahān. She was born in A.D. 1592, married in 1612, and died, on the 7th July, 1631 (O.S.) at Burhānpur in the Deccan. She bore to Shāh Jahān eight sons and six daughters. The child who cost the mother's life was named Dahar Arā, not Roshan Arā, as is sometimes stated. (*Dowson's Elliot*, Vol. VII, p. 27; *Beale*, s.v. *Arjmand Bāno Bēgam*.)

² This testimony of an eyewitness (*Ball's Tavernier*, Vol. I, p. 110) appears to be conclusive as to the time occupied in the building, and supersedes the traditional estimate of seventeen or eighteen years. The latest dated inscription, which is on the front gateway, is dated A.H. 1057 (= A.D. 6 Feb. 1647 to 26 Jan. 1648 (N.S.)), according to Wüstenfeld's Tables, used by Mr. Lane-Poole; = A.D. 27 Jan. 1647 to 16 Jan. 1648 (O.S.), according to Sir A. Cunningham's Tables. The Empress died in July 1631, and the work was begun immediately after her death. Tavernier's evidence is clear and positive, and there

buildings that appertain to it cost 3,17,48,026, three *karōr*,¹ seventeen *lākhs*, forty-eight thousand and twenty-six rupees, or 3,174,802 pounds sterling;—three million one hundred and seventy-four thousand eight hundred and two! I asked my wife, when she had gone over it, what she thought of the building? “I cannot,” said she, “tell you what I think, for I know not how to criticize such a building, but I can tell you what I feel. I would die to-morrow to have such another over me.” This is what many a lady has felt, no doubt.

The building stands upon the north side of a large quadrangle, looking down into the clear blue stream of the river Jumna, while the other three sides are enclosed with a high wall of red sandstone. The entrance to this quadrangle is through a magnificent gateway in the south side opposite the tomb; and on the other two sides are very beautiful mosques facing inwards, and corresponding exactly with each other in size, design, and execution. That on the left, or west, side is the only one that can be used as a mosque or church; because the faces of the audience, and those of all men at their prayers, must be turned towards the tomb of their prophet to the west. The pulpit is always against the dead wall at the back, and the audience face towards it, standing with their backs to the open front of the building. The church on the east

is no difficulty in believing that work on the buildings continued after the inscription was fixed on the gateway. Tavernier visited Agra several times (*Ball*, I., 142, 149), and he was in India in A.D. 1653, twenty-two years after the death of the Empress. He may well have been at Agra in that year. He quitted India in January, 1654 (*ib.* I, p. xxi), returning to the country in 1659 (*ib.* p.p. xxii and xxv).

¹ A *karōr* is a hundred *lākhs*, or ten millions. Other accounts state the cost as much less, namely, as rupees 1,84,65,186, of which sum more than half was contributed by tributary princes and nobles. (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, p. 707). About twenty thousand men were employed on the work, and were very scantily paid. If they had been paid full rates the cost would have been greater even than the highest estimate above given. Keene (*Handbook*, p. 31) quotes a statement that the cost exceeded 411 *lākhs*.

side is used for the accommodation of visitors, or for any secular purpose, and was built merely as a "jawāb" (answer) to the real one. The whole area is laid out in square parterres, planted with flowers and shrubs in the centre, and with fine trees, chiefly the cypress, all round the borders, forming an avenue to every road. These roads are all paved with slabs of freestone, and have, running along the centre, a basin, with a row of *jets d'eau* in the middle from one extremity to the other. These are made to play almost every evening, when the gardens are much frequented by the European gentlemen and ladies of the station, and by natives of all religions and sects. The quadrangle is from east to west nine hundred and sixty-four feet, and from north to south three hundred and twenty-nine.¹

The mausoleum itself, the terrace upon which it stands, and the minarets, are all formed of the finest white marble,

¹ The gardens of the Tāj have been much improved since the author's time, and are now under the care of a skilled European superintendent, and full of beautiful shrubs and trees. The author's measurements of the quadrangle seem to be wrong. Fergusson gives them as follows:—"This group of buildings [*scil.* the mausoleum, mosque, and *replica* mosque] forms one side of a garden court 880 feet square; and beyond this again is an outer court, of the same width, but only half the depth." A few other measurements, by the same high authority, may be of interest:—"The raised platform on which it [*scil.* the mausoleum] stands is 18 feet high, faced with white marble, and exactly 313 feet square. At each corner of this terrace stands a minaret 133 feet in height, and of the most exquisite proportions, more beautiful, perhaps, than any other in India. In the centre of this marble platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 feet, with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 feet 9 inches. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome, 58 feet in diameter, and 80 feet in height, under which is an enclosure formed by a trellis-work of white marble, a *chef d'œuvre* of elegance in Indian art. Within this stand the tombs,—that of Mumtāz-i-Mahal in the centre, and that of Shāh Jahān on one side." (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 595, edition 1876.) Major Boughiey, R.E., gives different, and probably more accurate vertical measurements, which are quoted in *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 705, and in Keene's *Handbook*, p. 37.

inlaid with precious stones. The wall around the quadrangle, including the river face of the terrace, is made of red sandstone, with cupolas and pillars of the same white marble. The insides of the churches and apartments in and upon the walls are all lined with marble or with stucco work that looks like marble ; but, on the outside, the red sandstone resembles uncovered bricks. The dazzling white marble of the mausoleum itself rising over the red wall is apt, at first sight, to make a disagreeable impression, from the idea of a whitewashed head to an unfinished building ; but this impression is very soon removed, and tends, perhaps, to improve that which is afterwards received from a nearer inspection. The marble was all brought from the Jeypore territories upon wheeled carriages, a distance, I believe, of two or three hundred miles ; and the sandstone from the neighbourhood of Dhōlpur and Fathpur Sikri.¹ Shāh Jahān is said to have inherited his partiality for this colour from his grandfather, Akbar, who constructed almost all his buildings from the same stone, though he might have had the beautiful white freestone at the same cost. What was figuratively said of Augustus may be most literally said of Shāh Jahān ; he found the cities (Agra and Delhi) all brick, and left them all marble ; for all the marble buildings, and additions to buildings, were formed by him.²

¹ "The white marble that forms the substance of the building came, Mr. Keene thinks, from Makrāna near Jaipur, but according to Mr. Hacket (*Records of the Geographical Survey of India*, X, 84), from Raiwāla in Jaipur, near the Alwar border [note]. The account of these marbles given in the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* (II, 127), favours Mr. Keene's view." (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 707.) The ornamental stones used for the inlay work in the Tāj are lapis lazuli, jasper, heliotrope, Chalcedon agate, chalcedony, cornelian, sarde, plasma (or quartz and chlorite), yellow and striped marble, clay slate, and nephrite, or jadé. (*Dr. Voysey, in Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 429, quoted by V. Ball in *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, VII, 109.)

² There is some exaggeration in this statement. Shāh Jahān's concern was with his wife's tomb, and his fortified palaces, rather than with "the cities."

This magnificent building and the palaces at Agra and Delhi were, I believe, designed by Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman of great talent and merit, in whose ability and integrity the Emperor placed much reliance. He was called by the natives "Ustān Isā, Nādir-ul-asr," "the wonderful of the age"; and, for his office of "naksha navīs," or plan drawer, he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month, with occasional presents, that made his income very large. He had finished the palace at Delhi, and the mausoleum and palace of Agra; and was engaged in designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries in the latter, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. He died at Cochin on his way back, and is supposed to have been poisoned by the Portuguese, who were extremely jealous of his influence at court. He left a son by a native, called Muhammad Sharif, who was employed as an architect on a salary of five hundred rupees a month, and who became, as I conclude from his name, a Musalmān. Shāh Jahān had commenced his own tomb on the opposite side of the Jumna; and both were to have been united by a bridge.¹ The death of Austin de Bordeaux, and the wars between his [*scil.* Shāh Jahān's] sons that followed prevented the completion of these magnificent works.²

¹ The site on which Shāh Jahān intended to build his own mausoleum is exactly opposite the Tāj, and is known as Mahtāb Khān's garden (*bāgh*). The foundations of an oval structure 250 feet long, and 217½ feet broad can be traced, and are described by Mr. Carlleyle in *Archæol. Survey Reports*, Vol. IV, p. 180. Tavernier's words on the subject are, "Shāh Jahān began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war which he had with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzēb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it." (Ball's *Tavernier*, Vol. I., p. 111.) The war took place in 1658 A.D. The Tāj, as we have seen, (*ante*, p. 381,) was not finished till about A.D. 1653.

² I would not be thought very positive upon this point. I think I am right, but feel that I may be wrong. Tavernier says that Shāh Jahān was obliged to give up his intention of completing a silver ceiling to the great hall in the palace, because Austin de Bordeaux had



We were encamped upon a fine green sward outside the entrance to the south, in a kind of large court, enclosed by a high cloistered wall, in which all our attendants and followers found shelter. Colonel and Mrs. King, and

been killed, and no other person could venture to attempt it. Ustān Isā, in all the Persian accounts, stands first among the salaried architects. [W. H. S.] It is unfortunate that the author does not specify his Persian authorities. Tavernier's words are, "Shāh Jahān had intended to cover the arch of a great gallery which is on the right hand with silver, and a Frenchman, named Augustin de Bordeaux, was to have done the work. But the Great Mogul, seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was more capable to send to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of Augustin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin." (Ball's *Tavernier*, Vol. I, p. 108.) It will be observed that the author's version of Tavernier's statements is not quite accurate.

"It seems now to be ascertained that in the early part of the seventeenth century Italian artists, principally, apparently from Florence, were introduced into India, and taught the Indians the art of inlaying marble with precious stones. No instance of this mode of decoration occurs, so far as I know, in the reign of Akbar; but in that of Shāh Jahān it became the leading characteristic of the style. . . . Austin, or Augustin, de Bordeaux is the only European artist whose name can positively be identified with any works of the class. He certainly was employed by Shāh Jahān at Delhi, and executed that mosaic of Orpheus or Apollo playing to the beasts, after Raphael's picture, which once adorned the throne there, and is now in the Indian Museum at South Kensington. . . . Up to the erection of the gates to Akbar's tomb at Sikandra in the first ten years of Jahāngir's reign, A.D. 1605-1615, we have infinite mosaics of coloured marble, but no specimen of 'inlay.' In Itimād-ud-daula's tomb, A.D. 1615-1628, we have both systems in great perfection. In the Taj and palaces at Agra and Delhi, built by Shāh Jahān, A.D. 1628-1668, the mosaic has disappeared, being entirely supplanted by the "inlay." It was just before that time that the system of inlaying called *pietra dura* was invented, and became the rage at Florence, and, in fact, all over Europe; and we know that during the reign of the two last-named monarchs many Italian artists were in their service quite capable of giving instruction in the new art." (Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. 1876, p. 588. See also p. 593.)

Notwithstanding the facts above stated, it is doubtful whether Augustin de Bordeaux was concerned in the architectural design of the Taj, as well as in its decoration, or not. Mr. Keene (*Handbook of*

some other gentlemen, were encamped in the same place, and for the same purpose; and we had a very agreeable party. The band of our friend Major Godby's regiment played sometimes in the evening upon the terrace of the Tāj; but, of all the complicated music ever heard upon earth, that of a flute blown gently in the vault below, where the remains of the Emperor and his consort repose, as the sound rises to the dome amidst a hundred arched alcoves around, and descends in heavenly reverberations upon those who sit or recline upon the cenotaphs above the vault, is, perhaps, the finest to an inartificial ear. We feel as if it were from heaven, and breathed by angels; it is to the ear what the building itself is to the eye; but, unhappily, it cannot, like the building, live in our recollections. All that we can, in after life, remember is that it was heavenly, and produced heavenly emotions.

We went all over the palace in the fort, a very magnificent building constructed by Shāh Jahān within fortifications raised by his grandfather Akbar.¹

The fret-work and mosaic upon the marble pillars and panels are equal to those of the Tāj; or, if possible,

Agra, latest ed.), states, on the authority of Father Manrique, who was at Agra in 1641, that a Venetian named Geronimo Verroneo was employed to prepare the plans and estimates, and that he died at Lahore long before the completion of the work, which is supposed to have been completed by a Byzantine Turk, named Isā Muhammed Effendi. It is, at all events, certain that the incomparable Tāj is the product of a combination of European and Asiatic genius. On the supposed portrait of Austin de Bordeaux, see *post*, Chapter XIII.

¹ Akbar erected his works on the site of an older fort, "which was of brick, and had become ruinous." No existing building within the precincts can be referred with certainty to an earlier date than that of Akbar. The erection began in A.H. 974, corresponding to A.D. 1566-1567, and the work continued for eight (or, according to another authority, four) years, costing 3,500,000 rupees, or about £350,000 sterling. The walls are of rubble, faced with red sandstone. The fosse was made by Aurangzēb, and the Amar Singh gate is also believed to be a late addition (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p.p. 594, 689, 690, quoting authorities; of which the principal is the Tabakāt-i-Akbar in Dowson's *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 295.)



superior; nor is the design or execution in any respect inferior, and yet an European feels that he could get a house much more commodious, and more to his taste, for a much less sum than must have been expended upon it. The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India, broke up one of the most beautiful marble baths of this palace to send home to George IV. of England, then Prince Regent, and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fret-work and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our government, by order of the then Governor-General, Lord W. Bentinck. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Tāj itself, would have been pulled down, and sold in the same manner.¹

We visited the Motī Masjid or Pearl Mosque. It was built by Shāh Jahān, entirely of white marble; and completed, as we learn from an inscription on the portico, in the year A.D. 1656.² There is no mosaic upon any of the

¹ It is difficult to understand how men like the Marquis of Hastings and Lord William Bentinck could have been guilty of such barbarous stupidity. But the fact is beyond doubt, and numberless officials of less exalted rank must share the disgrace of the ruin and spoliation, which, both at Agra and Delhi, have destroyed two noble palaces, and left but a few disconnected fragments. Mr. Fergusson's indignant protests (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. 1876, p. 590, etc.) are none too strong. Sir John Strachey, who was Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1876, is entitled to the credit of having done all that lay in his power to remedy the effects of the parsimony and neglect of his predecessors. The buildings which remain at both Agra and Delhi are now tolerably well cared for, though the arrangements are far from perfect. Up to the end of the year 1881-82, ₹1,27,195 had been expended on the Tāj; ₹73,815 on the palace buildings in the Fort, and ₹2,29,905 on other ancient buildings (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 715). Considerable further sums have since been expended.

² This date is erroneous. The inscription is dated A.H. 1063, in the 26th year of Shāh Jahān, equivalent practically to A.D. 1653. It is given in full in *Archæol. Survey Reports*, Vol. IV, p.p. 145-156, but Mr. Carlisle blunders in equating A.H. 1063 with A.D. 1655, and the

pillars or panels of this mosque; but the design and execution of the flowers in bas-relief are exceedingly beautiful. It is a chaste, simple, and majestic building;¹ and is by some people admired even more than the Tāj, because they have heard less of it; and their pleasure is heightened by surprise. We feel that it is to all other mosques what the Tāj is to all other mausoleums, a *facile princeps*.

Few, however, go to see the "mosque of pearls" more than once, stay as long as they will at Agra; and when they go, the building appears less and less to deserve their admiration; while they go to the Tāj as often as they can, and find new beauties in it, or new feelings of pleasure from it, every time.²

mistake is copied into the *Gazetteer*, p. 691. A.H. 1063 corresponds to A.D. 1652-1653, and began on Monday 22 Nov. 1652 (O.S.), according to Cunningham's Tables, or on Monday the 2nd December of same year (N.S.) according to Wüstenfeld's Tables, used by Lane-Poole. Keene erroneously gives the date A.D. as 1654. The inscription states that the erection of the mosque occupied seven years, and cost three lākhs of rupees, or more than thirty thousand pounds sterling.

¹ The beauty of the Motī Masjid, like that of most mosques, is all internal. The exterior is ugly. The interior deserves all praise. Fergusson describes this mosque as "one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere," and truly observes that "the moment you enter by the eastern gateway the effect of its courtyard is surpassingly beautiful." "I hardly know anywhere," he adds, "of a building so perfectly pure and elegant." (*Ind. and E. Arch.* p. 599.)

² I would, however, here enter my humble protest against the quadrille and tiffin [*scil.* lunch] parties, which are sometimes given to the European ladies and gentlemen of the station at this imperial tomb; drinking and dancing are, no doubt, very good things in their season, even in a hot climate, but they are sadly out of place in a sepulchre, and never fail to shock the good feelings of sober-minded people when given there. Good church music gives us great pleasure, without exciting us to dancing or drinking; the Tāj does the same, at least to the sober-minded. [W. H. S.] The regulations now in force prohibit dancing at the Tāj. Garden-parties are still allowed. The gardens at the Tāj, of Itimād-ud-daula's tomb, of Akbar's mausoleum

I went out to visit this tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Sikandra, a magnificent building, raised over him by his son, the Emperor Jahāngīr. His remains lie deposited in a deep vault under the centre, and are covered by a plain slab of marble, without fret-work or mosaic. On the top of the building, which is three or four stories high, is another marble slab, corresponding with the one in the vault below.¹ This is beautifully carved, with the “*nau nauwe nam*”—the ninety-nine names, or attributes of the Deity, from the Korān.² It is covered by an awning, not to protect the tomb, but to defend the “words of God” from the rain, as my cicerone assured me.” He told me

at Sikandra, and the Rām Bāgh are kept up. by means of income derived from crown lands, aided by an annual cash grant from Government.

¹ The author’s curiously meagre description of the magnificent mausoleum of Akbar is, in the original edition, supplemented by coloured plates, prepared apparently from drawings by native artists. The structure is absolutely unique, being a square pyramid of five stories, of which the uppermost is built of pure white marble, while the four lower ones are of red sandstone. Fergusson (*Ind. and E. Archit.* ed. 1876, p.p. 583–586) gives a plan, section, and view of the building. He erroneously supposes it to have been erected in Akbar’s lifetime. The author correctly states that it was raised by his son, the Emperor Jahāngīr. Akbar had begun it, but Jahāngīr was dissatisfied with the work, and, in the third year of his reign rebuilt the structure, completing it in A.D. 1612–13. (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, in Dowson’s *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 319.) The plain tomb in the vault bears no inscription, save the single word ‘Akbar.’

² The ninety-nine names of God do not occur in the Korān. They are enumerated in Chapter I of Book X of the ‘*Mishkāt-ul-Masābih*’ (see note *ante*, p. 42): “Abū Hurairah said, ‘Verily there are ninety-nine names for God; and whoever counts them shall enter into paradise. He is Allāho, than which there is no other; Al-Rahmān-ul-Rahīmo, the compassionate and merciful, etc. etc.’” (*Matthews*, Vol. I, p. 542.) The list is reproduced in the introduction to Palmer’s translation of the Korān, and in Bosworth-Smith’s *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*.

³ Fergusson (*op. cit.* p. 586, note) cites Finch to prove that in or about the year 1609 the emperor intended to erect a cupola to cover the uppermost marble story. Finch writes, “At my last sight thereof

that the attendants upon this tomb used to have the hay of the large quadrangle of forty acres in which it stands,¹ in addition to their small salaries, and that it yielded them some fifty rupees a year; but the chief Native officer of the Tāj establishment demanded half of the sum, and when they refused to give him so much, he persuaded his master, the European engineer, *with much difficulty*, to take all this hay for the public cattle. "And why could you not adjust such a matter between you, without pestering the engineer?" "Is not this the way," said he, with emotion, "that Hindustan has cut its own throat, and brought in the stranger at all times? Have they ever had, or can they ever have, confidence in each other, or let each other alone to enjoy the little they have in peace?" Considering all the circumstances of time and place, Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets; and, feeling as a citizen of the world, I revered the marble slab that covers his bones more, perhaps, than I should that over any other sovereign with whose history I am acquainted.²

there was only overhead a rich tent with a Semiane [*scil.* 'shāmiāna,' or awning] over the tomb. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled marble, and to be seeled [*scil.* ceiled] all within with pure sheet gold richly inwrought." Fergusson gives as his reference *Purchas his Pilgrims*, Vol. I, p. 440.

¹ 150 acres, according to the *Gazetteer*.

² This remarkable eulogium is quoted with approval by another enthusiastic admirer of Akbar, Count von Noer (Prince Frederick Augustus of Schleswig-Holstein), who observes that "as Akbar was unique amongst his contemporaries, so was his place of burial among Indian tombs—indeed, one may say with confidence, among the sepulchres of Asia." (*The Emperor Akbar, a Contribution towards the History of India in the 16th Century*, by Frederick Augustus, Count of Noer; edited from the Author's papers by Dr. Gustav von Buckwald; translated from the German by Annette S. Beveridge. Calcutta, 1890.) This work of Count von Noer, unsatisfactory though it is in many respects, is still the best existing account of Akbar's reign in English. The competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life of Akbar will be in possession of, perhaps, the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated.

Colonel Malleeson's little book in the "Rulers of India" series adds nothing to the world's knowledge. Akbar's reign was almost exactly coincident with that of Queen Elizabeth. The character and deeds of the Indian monarch will bear comparison with those of his great English contemporary. "In dealing," observes Mr. Lane-Poole, "with the difficulties arising in the government of a peculiarly heterogeneous empire, he stands absolutely supreme among oriental sovereigns, and may even challenge comparison with the greatest of European rulers."



CHAPTER LII¹

Nūr Jahān, the Aunt of the Empress Nūr Mahal, over whose Remains the Tāj is built.²

I CROSSED over the river Jumna one morning to look at the tomb of Itimād-ud-daula, the most remarkable mausoleum in the neighbourhood after those of Akbar and the Tāj. On my way back, I asked one of the boatmen who was rowing me who had built what appeared to me a new dome within the fort.

"One of the Emperors, of course," said he.

"What makes you think so?"

"Because such things are made only by Emperors," replied the man quietly, without relaxing his pull at the oar.

"True, very true," said an old Musalmān trooper, with large white whiskers and moustachios, who had dismounted to follow me across the river, with a melancholy shake of

¹ Chapter IV of Vol. II of original edition.

² The names and titles of the empress "over whose remains the Tāj is built" were Nawāb Aliyā Begam, Arjmand Bānū, Mumtāz-i-Mahall. The title Nūr Mahall, as applied to her, seems to be without authority: it properly belongs to her aunt. "It is usual in this country," Bernier observes, "to give similar names to the members of the reigning family. Thus the wife of *Chah-Jehan*—so renowned for her beauty, and whose splendid mausoleum is more worthy of a place among the wonders of the world than the unshapen masses and heaps of stones in Egypt—was named *Tāge Mehalle* [Mumtāz-i-Mahall], or the Crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Jehan-Guyre, who so long wielded the sceptre, while her husband abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation, was known first by the name of *Nour Mehalle*, the Light of the Seraglio, and afterwards by that of *Nour-Jehan-Begum*, the Light of the World." (*Constable's Bernier*, p. 5.)

the head, "very true ; who but Emperors could do such things as these ?"

Encouraged by the trooper, the boatman continued :—
 "The Jāts and the Marāthās did nothing but pull down and destroy while they held their *accursed dominion* here ; and the European gentlemen who now govern seem to have no pleasure in building anything but *factories, courts of justice, and jails.*"¹

Feeling as an Englishman, as we all must sometimes do, be where we will, I could hardly help wishing that the beautiful panels and pillars of the bath-room had fetched a better price, and that palace, Tāj, and all at Agra, had gone to the hammer—so sadly do they exalt the past at the expense of the present in the imaginations of the people.

The tomb contains in the centre the remains of Khwāja Ghiās,¹ one of the most prominent characters of the reign of Jahāngīr, and those of his wife. The remains of the other members of his family repose in rooms all round them ; and are covered with slabs of marble richly cut. It is an exceedingly beautiful building, but a great part of the most valuable stones of the mosaic work have been picked out and stolen, and the whole is about to be sold by auction, by a decree of the civil court, to pay the debt of the present proprietor, who is entirely unconnected with the family whose members repose under it, and especially indifferent as to what becomes of their bones. The building and garden in which it stands were, some sixty years ago, given away, I believe, by Najif Khān, the prime minister, to one of his nephews, to whose family it still belongs.² Khwaja Ghiās, a native of Western Tartary, left

¹ Properly, Ghiās-ud-dīn. The word Ghiās cannot stand as a name by itself.

² The author's slight description of Itimād-ud-daula's exquisite sepulchre is, in the original edition, illustrated by two coloured plates, one of the exterior, and the other of the interior (restored). The lack of grandeur in this building is amply atoned for by its elegance and marvellous beauty of detail. A long, though not very readable,

that country for India, where he had some relations at the imperial court, who seemed likely to be able to secure his

description of it will be found in *Archæol. Survey Reports*, Vol. IV, p.p. 137-141. Mr. Keene (*Handbook of Agra*, p. 42) says that it was completed in A.D. 1628. Itimād-ud-daula died in February, A.D. 1621. An inscription, dated A.H. 1027=A.D. 1618, is alleged to exist in connection with the building, but has not, apparently, been published. (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 687.)

Fergusson's careful description and just criticism deserve quotation. "The tomb known as that of Itimād-ud-daula, at Agra, . . . cannot be passed over, not only from its own beauty of design, but also because it marks an epoch in the style to which it belongs. It is situated on the left bank of the river, in the midst of a garden surrounded by a wall measuring 540 feet on each side. In the centre of this, on a raised platform, stands the tomb itself, a square measuring sixty-nine feet on each side. It is two storeys in height, and at each angle is an octagonal tower, surmounted by an open pavilion. The towers, however, are rather squat in proportion, and the general design of the building very far from being so pleasing as that of many less pretentious tombs in the neighbourhood. Had it, indeed, been built in red sandstone, or even with an inlay of white marble like that of Humāyūn, it would not have attracted much attention. Its real merit consists in being wholly in white marble, and being covered throughout with a mosaic in 'pietra dura'—the first, apparently, and certainly one of the most splendid, examples of that class of ornamentation in India. . . .

"As one of the first, the tomb of Itimād-ud-daula was certainly one of the least successful specimens of its class. The patterns do not quite fit the places where they are put, and the spaces are not always those best suited for this style of decoration. Altogether I cannot help fancying that the Italians had more to do with the design of this building than was at all desirable, and they are to blame for its want of grace. But, on the other hand, the beautiful tracery of the pierced marble slabs of its windows, which resemble those of Salīm Chishtī's tomb at Fatehpur Sikrī, the beauty of its white marble walls, and the rich colour of its decorations, make up so beautiful a whole, that it is only on comparing it with the works of Shāh Jahān that we are justified in finding fault." (*Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ed. 1876, p.p. 588, 589.)

The building is now guarded with some care, and kept in tolerable repair. The restoration of the inlay of precious stones is so enormously expensive that much progress in that branch of the work is impracticable. The mausoleum contains seven tombs.

advancement. He was a man of handsome person, and of good education and address. He set out with his wife, a bullock, and a small sum of money, which he realized by the sale of all his other property. The wife, who was pregnant, rode upon the bullock, while he walked by her side. Their stock of money had become exhausted, and they had been three days without food in the great desert, when she was taken in labour, and gave birth to a daughter. The mother could hardly keep her seat on the bullock, and the father had become too exhausted to afford her any support; and in their distress they agreed to abandon the infant. They covered it over with leaves, and towards evening pursued their journey. When they had gone on about a mile, and had lost sight of the solitary shrub under which they had left their child, the mother, in an agony of grief, threw herself from the bullock upon the ground, exclaiming, "My child, my child!" Ghiās could not resist this appeal. He went back to the spot, took up his child, and brought it to its mother's breast. Some traveller soon after came up, and relieved their distress, and they reached Lahore, where the Emperor Akbar then held his court.¹

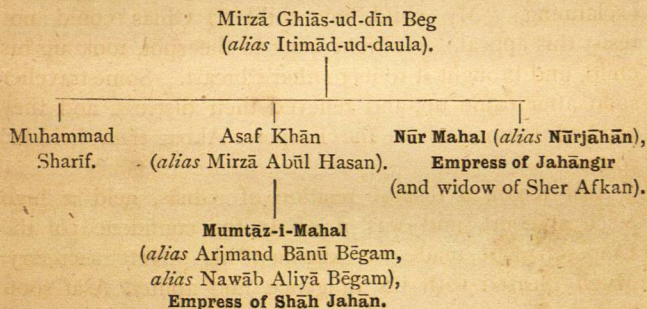
Asaf Khān, a distant relation of Ghiās, held a high place at court, and was much in the confidence of the Emperor. He made his kinsman his private secretary. Much pleased with his diligence and ability, Asaf soon brought his merits to the special notice of Akbar, who raised him to the command of a thousand horse, and soon after appointed him master of the household. From this he was promoted afterwards to that of Itimād-ud-daula, or high treasurer, one of the first ministers.²

¹ This tale has a very mythical look. The circumstances could not be known to any person besides the father and mother, neither of whom would be likely to make them public. Blochmann (*Ain*, p. 508) gives a full account of Itimād-ud-daula and his family.

² This story is erroneous, and is inconsistent with the correct statement in the heading of the chapter that Nūr Jahān, daughter of Ghiās-ud-dīn, was aunt of Mumtāz-i-Mahall, daughter of Asaf Khān.

The daughter who had been born in the desert became celebrated for her great beauty, parts, and accomplishments, and won the affections of the eldest son of the Emperor, the Prince Salīm, who saw her unveiled, by accident, at a party given by her father. She had been betrothed before this to Shēr Afkan,¹ a Turkoman gentleman of rank at court, and of great repute for his high spirit, strength, and courage. Salīm in vain entreated his father to interpose his authority to make him resign his claim in his favour; and she became the wife of Shēr

The author makes out Ghiās-ud-dīn (whom he calls Aeeas, which form is a corruption) to be a distant relation of Asaf Khān. In reality, Asaf Khān (whose original name was Mirzā Abūl Hasan) was the second son of Ghiās-ud-dīn, and was elder brother of Nūr Jahān. The genealogy, so far as relevant, is best shown in a tabular form, thus:—



Ghiās-ud-dīn came from Teheran in Persia, and not from "Western Tartary."

¹ According to Sir A. Cunningham (*Arch. Rep.* Vol. IV, p. 137, *note*), Afkan, with the meaning 'lion-killer,' is the correct form of the name. But he does not say in what language 'afkan' means 'lion-killer.' It is certainly not Persian, and is, I suppose, Turkī. Beale (*s.v.* Sher Afghan Khan) says, "His original name was Asta Fillo, and Ali Zula Beg, but having killed a lion, he was dignified with the title of Sher Afgan Khān, or the Destroyer of Lions. The Emperor Jahāngīr married the widow some years after, which gave rise to a legend of the Emperor's having caused his death." Sher Afgan Khān was killed in A.D. 1607.

Afkan. Salīm dare not, during his father's life, make any open attempt to revenge himself; but he, and those courtiers who thought it their interest to worship the rising sun, soon made his [Afkan's] residence at the capital disagreeable, and he retired with his wife to Bengal, where he obtained from the governor the superintendency of the district of Bardwān.

Salīm succeeded his father on the throne;¹ and, no longer restrained by his [*scil.* Akbar's] rigid sense of justice, he recalled Shēr Afkan to court at Delhi. He was promoted to high offices, and concluded that time had removed from the Emperor's mind all feelings of love for his wife, and of resentment against his successful rival—but he was mistaken; Salīm had never forgiven him, nor had the desire to possess his wife at all diminished. A Muhammadan of such high feeling and station would, the Emperor knew, never survive the dishonour, or suspected dishonour, of his wife; and to possess her he must make away with the husband. He dared not do this openly, because he dreaded the universal odium in which he knew it would involve him; and he made several unsuccessful attempts to get him removed by means that might not appear to have been contrived or executed by his orders. At one time he designedly, in his own presence, placed him in a situation where the pride of the chief made him contend, single-handed, with a large tiger, which he killed; and, at another, with a mad elephant, whose proboscis he cut off with his sword; but the Emperor's motives in all these attempts to put him foremost in situations of danger became so manifest that Shēr Afkan solicited, and obtained, permission to retire with his wife to Bengal.

The governor of this province, Kutb,² having been made acquainted with the Emperor's desire to have the chief

¹ In October, 1605.

² Properly Kutb-ud-dīn. He was foster-brother of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr), and his appointment as viceroy alarmed Shēr Afkan, and caused the latter to throw up his appointment in Bengal.

made away with, hired forty ruffians, who stole into his house one night. There happened to be nobody else in the house; but one of the party, touched by remorse on seeing so fine a man about to be murdered in his sleep, called out to him to defend himself. He seized his sword, placed himself in one corner of the room, and defended himself so well that nearly one-half of the party are said to have been killed or wounded. The rest all made off, persuaded that he was endowed with supernatural force. After this escape he retired from Tānda, the capital of Bengal,¹ to his old residence of Bardwān. Soon after, Kutb came to the city with a splendid retinue, on pretence of making a tour of inspection through the provinces under his charge, but in reality for the sole purpose of making away with Shēr Afkan, who as soon as he heard of his approach, came out some miles to meet him on horseback, attended by only two followers. He was received with marks of great consideration, and he and the governor rode on for some time side by side, talking of their mutual friends, and the happy days they had spent together at the capital. At last, as they were about to enter the city, the governor suddenly called for his elephant of state, and mounted, saying it would be necessary for him to pass through the city on the first visit in some state. Shēr sat on horseback while he mounted, but one of the governor's pikemen struck his horse, and began to drive him before them. Shēr drew his sword, and, seeing all the governor's followers with theirs ready drawn to attack him, he concluded at once that the affront had been put upon

¹ "Tāndān, or Tānra. Ancient town, now a petty village, in Māldah District, Bengal. The ancient capital of Bengal after the decadence of Gaur. Its history is obscure, and the very site of the city has not been accurately determined. It is certain that it was in the immediate neighbourhood of Gaur, and south-west of that town beyond the Bhāgīrathī. Old Tāndān has been utterly swept away by the changes in the course of the Pāglā." It was occupied by the Muhammadan governors of Bengal in A.D. 1564, and is not mentioned after 1660. (*Imp. Gazetteer*, ed. 1885.)

him by the orders of Kutb, and with the design to provoke him to an unequal fight. Determined to have his life first, he spurred his horse upon the elephant, and killed Kutb with his spear. He now attacked the principal officers, and five noblemen of the first rank fell by his sword. All the crowd now rolled back, and formed a circle round Shēr and his two companions, and galled them with arrows and musket balls from a distance. His horse fell under him and expired; and, having received six balls and several arrows in his body, Shēr himself at last fell exhausted to the ground; and the crowd, seeing the sword drop from his grasp, rushed in and cut him to pieces.¹

His widow was sent, "nothing loth," to court, with her only child, a daughter. She was graciously received by the Emperor's mother, and had apartments assigned her in the palace; but the Emperor himself is said not to have seen her for four years, during which time the fame of her beauty, talents, and accomplishments filled the palace and city. After the expiration of this time the feelings, whatever they were, which prevented his seeing her, subsided; and when he at last surprised her with a visit, he found her

¹ This narrative, notwithstanding all the minute details with which it is garnished, cannot be accepted as sober history; and I do not know from what source the author obtained it. "This lady, whose maiden name was Muhr-un-Nisā, or 'Seal of Womankind,' had attracted the admiration of Jahāngīr when he was crown-prince, but Akbar married her to a young Turkomān and settled them in Bengal. After Jahāngīr's accession the husband was killed in a quarrel with the governor of the province, and the wife was placed under the care of one of Akbar's widows, with whom she remained four years, and then married Jahāngīr (1610). There is nothing to justify a suspicion of the Emperor's connivance in the husband's death; nor do Indian historians corroborate the invidious criticisms of 'Normal' by European travellers; on the contrary, they portray Nūr-Mahall as a pattern of all the virtues, and worthy to wield the supreme influence which she obtained over the Emperor." (Lane-Poole, *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their Coins*, p. xix.) The authorities on which this statement is founded are given in Dowson's *Elliot*, Vol. VI, p.p. 397, and 402-405.

to exceed all that his imagination had painted since their last separation. In a few days their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence;¹ and from that hour the Emperor resigned the reins of government almost entirely into her hands; and, till his death, under the name first of Nūr Mahall, "Light of the Palace," and afterwards of Nūr Jahān, "Light of the World," she ruled the destinies of this great empire. Her father was now raised from the station of high treasurer to that of prime minister. Her two brothers obtained the titles of Asaf Jāh and Itkāḍ Khān; and the relations of the family poured in from Tartary in search of employment, as soon as they heard of their success.² Nūr Jahān had by Sher Afkan, as I have

¹ The long interval which elapsed between Shēr Afkan's death and the marriage with the Emperor appears inexplicable on the assumptions which the author adopts that Nūr Mahall was "nothing loth," and that the death of her first husband was contrived by Jahāngīr. If, as seems to be the truth, Jahāngīr was guiltless, and Nūr Mahall sincerely mourned her husband, and long rejected the Emperor's advances, or was neglected by him, the story is intelligible.

² Quaint Sir Thomas Herbert thus expresses himself: "Meher Metzia [Muhr-un-nisā] is forthwith espoused with all solemnity to the King, and her name changed to Nourshabegem [Nūr Shāh Bēgam], or Nor-mahal, *i.e.*, Light or Glory of the Court; her Father upon this affinity advanced upon all the other Umbraes ["umarā," or nobles]; her brother, Assaph-Chan [Asaf Khān], and most of her kindred, smiled upon, with the addition of Honours, Wealth, and Command. And in this Sun-shine of content Jangheer [Jahāngīr] spends some years with his lovely Queen, without regarding ought save Cupid's Currantoes" (*Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 74). Authority exists for the title Asaf Jāh, as well as for the variant Asaf Khān.

Coins were struck in the joint names of Jahāngīr and his consort, bearing a rhyming Persian couplet to the effect that

"By command of Jahāngīr the King, from the name of Nūr Jahān his Queen, gold gained a hundred beauties."

The Queen's administration is censured by the European envoys and travellers who visited India during Jahāngīr's reign as being venal and inefficient, and she is accused of cruelty and perfidy. She died on the 18th December (N.S.), 1645, and was buried by the side of Jahāngīr in his mausoleum at Lahore. She was at her death in her

stated, one daughter ; but she had never any child by the Emperor Jahāngīr.¹

Asaf Jāh became prime minister on the death of his father ; and, in spite of his sister, he managed to secure the crown to Shāh Jahān, the third son of Jahāngīr, who had married his daughter, the lady over whose remains the Tāj was afterwards built. Jahāngīr's eldest son, Khusrū, had his eyes put out by his father's orders for repeated rebellions, to which he had been instigated by a desire to revenge his mother's murder, and by the ambition of her brother, the Hindoo prince, Mān Singh,² who wished to see his own nephew on the throne, and by his wife's father, the prime minister of Akbar, Khān Azam.³ Nūr Jahān had invited the mother of Khusrū, the sister of Rājā Mān Singh, to look with her down a well in the courtyard of her apartments by moonlight, and as she did so she threw her in. As soon as she saw that she had ceased to struggle she gave the alarm, and pretended that she had fallen in by accident.⁴

By the murder of the mother of the heir-apparent she expected to secure the throne to a creature of her own. Khusrū was treated with great kindness by his father, after he had been barbarously deprived of sight ; but, when his brother, Shāh Jahān, was appointed to the government of Southern India, he pretended great solicitude about the comforts of his *poor blind brother*, which he thought would

72nd year, according to the Muhammadan lunar reckoning, and would thus have been 34 solar years of age when the Emperor married her in 1610 (*Beale: Blochmann*).

¹ According to Sir Thomas Herbert (*Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 99), "Queen Normahal and her three daughters" were confined by order of Shāh Jahān in A.D. 1628.

² Son of Bhagwān Dās, of Ambēr or Jaipur, in Rājputāna, and one of the greatest of Akbar's officers.

³ Also known as Azīz Kokah, a foster-brother of Akbar.

⁴ This story may be true ; but a charge of this kind is absolutely incapable of proof, and would be readily generated in the palace atmosphere.

not be attended to at court, and took him with him to his government in the Deccan, where he got him assassinated,¹ as the only sure mode of securing the throne to himself. Parwiz, the second son, died a natural death;² so also did his only son; and so also Dāniyāl, the fourth son of the Emperor.³ Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher Afkan had married Shāhriyār, a young son of the Emperor by a concubine; and, just before his death he (the Emperor), at the instigation of Nūr Jahān, named this son as his successor in his will. He was placed upon the throne, and put in possession of the treasury, and at the head of a respectable army;⁴ but the Empress's brother, Asaf, designed the throne for his own son-in-law, Shāh Jahān; and, as soon as the Emperor died, he put up a puppet to amuse the people till he could come up with his army from the Deccan—Bulākī, the eldest son of the deceased Khusrū. Shāhriyār's troops were defeated; he was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out forthwith, and the Empress was put into close confinement. As Shāh Jahān approached Lahore with his army, Asaf put his puppet, Bulākī, and his younger brother, with the two young sons of Dāniyāl, into prison, where they were strangled by a messenger sent on for the purpose by Shāh Jahān, with the sanction of Asaf.⁵ This measure left no male heir alive of the house

¹ A.H. 1031 = A.D. 1621-1622.

² A.H. 1036 = A.D. 1626-1627.

³ This is a blunder. Jahāngīr's fourth son was named Jahāndār, and died in or about A.H. 1035 = A.D. 1625-26. Dāniyāl was third son of Akbar, and younger brother of Jahāngīr. He died from *delirium tremens* in A.D. 1605, a few months before the death of Akbar.

⁴ Jahāngīr died, when returning from Kāshmir, on the 8th November, A.D. 1627 (N.S.), and was buried near Lahore. The fight with Shāhriyār took place at Lahore.

⁵ Bulākī assumed the title of Dāwar Baksh during his short reign, and struck coins at Lahore. He "vanished—probably to Persia—after his three months' pretence of royalty; and on 25th January, 1628, (18 Jumāda I, 1037), Shāh-Jahān ascended at Agra the throne which he was to occupy for thirty years." Shāhriyār was known by

of Taimūr (Tamerlane) in Hindustan, save Shāh Jahān himself and his four sons. Dārā was then thirteen years of age, Shujā twelve, Aurangzēb ten, and Murād four; and all were present to learn from their father this sad lesson—that such of them who might be alive on his death, save one, must, with their sons, be hunted down and destroyed like mad dogs, lest they might get into the hands of the disaffected, and be made the tools of faction.

Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Agra, as I have before stated, in 1666, says, "Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand Christian families in Agra; but all do not agree in that. The Dutch have a factory in the town, but the English have now none, because it did not turn to account." The number must have been great, or so sober a man as Monsieur Thevenot would not have thought such an estimate worthy to be quoted without contradiction.¹ They were all, except those connected with the single Dutch factory, maintained from the salaries of office; and they gradually disappeared as their offices became filled with Muhammadans and Hindoos. The duties of the artillery, its arsenals, and foundries, were the chief foundation upon which the superstructure of Christianity then stood in India. These duties were everywhere entrusted exclusively to Europeans, and all Europeans were Christians, and, under Shāh Jahān, permitted freely to follow their own modes of worship. They were, too, Roman Catholic, and

the nickname of *Nā-shudanī*, or "Good-for-nothing" (Lane-Poole, *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan, Illustrated by their Coins*, p. xxiii). The two nephews of Jahāngīr, the sons of Dāniyāl, slaughtered at this time, had been, according to Herbert, baptized as Christians (*Travels*, ed. 1677, pp. 74, 98).

¹ *Ante*, Vol. I, Chapter II, p. 14. The quotation is from Part III, Chapter XIX, p. 35 of *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot, now made English, London, Printed in the year MDCLXXXVII*. The author, in his quotation, omits between "that" and "The Dutch" the clause "This indeed is certain that there are few Heathens and Parsis in respect of Mahometans there, and these surpass all the other sects in power as they do in number."

spent the greater part of their incomes in the maintenance of priests. But they could never forget that they were strangers in the land, and held their offices upon a precarious tenure ; and, consequently, they never felt disposed to expend the little wealth they had in raising durable tombs, churches, and other public buildings, to tell posterity who or what they were. Present physical enjoyment, and the prayers of their priests for a good berth in the next world, were the only objects of their ambition. Muhammadans and Hindoos soon learned to perform duties which they saw bring to the Christians so much of honour and emolument ; and, as they did so, they necessarily sapped the walls of the fabric. Christianity never became independent of office in India, and, I am afraid, never will ; even under our rule, it still mainly rests upon that foundation.¹

¹ During the reign of Akbar, many Christians, Portuguese and others, visited Agra, and a considerable number settled there. A Roman Catholic church was built, the steeple of which was pulled down by Shāh Jahān. The oldest inscriptions in the cemetery adjoining the Roman Catholic cathedral are in the Armenian character. Some in Portuguese date from the earlier part of the seventeenth century. The existing cathedral is an ugly modern building. An older church, a low building on three rows of narrow arches, dating from 1769, is now used as a school. It was restored and enlarged in 1835 by Jean Baptiste Filose, the officer in the Marāthā service (*ante*, p. 140, *note*). The buildings of the Roman Catholic Mission cover a considerable space of ground, and the adjoining quarter of the native city is inhabited by native Christians, some of mixed descent. Many of these are descended from Portuguese and other old Christian families. (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 677.) "In the Protestant cemetery at Agra are still about a dozen tombs of Europeans who must have come to India about the time of Jahāngīr's reign ; and some of their Catholic contemporaries are buried in Pādri Tolā. Jahāngīr was in matters of religion just as tolerant as his father. He allowed two of his nephews to be christened by the Jesuits at Agra ; while Captain Hawkins, carrying 'St. George his flag for the honour of England' led sixty mounted Christians to church to witness the ceremony." (*Ibid.* p. 605.)

According to Herbert, four princes were baptized. "This year, Anno 1609, Currown [Khurram, afterwards Shāh Jahān] (another of

Jangheer's Sons), and other of his friends (to make his way the easier to the Crown) prevailed with Jangheer that his kinsmen Shaw Selym's Brother's Sons might be christened; which accordingly was done in Agra: the Jesuits that baptized the young Princes named them Philipppo, Carlo and Henrico; that year also they baptized another Grandson of Ecbar's [Akbar's] by the name of Don Edoard." (*Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 74.) As already noted, the same author (*Travels*, p. 98) records that two baptized sons of Dāniyāl were executed by Shāh Jahān immediately before he ascended the throne. Sir Thomas Herbert (p. 340) justly remarks that "among Mahometans liberty of conscience is allowed, agreeable to an *Azuara* [Sūra] in the Alcoran [Korān], which declares that none are to be dissuaded from the religion they suckt from their cradle; which gains Christians peaceful Habitations, and inclines them to live without disturbing the publick." Akbar's "edict of toleration authorizing freedom of conscience throughout all the land" was issued in A.D. 1593. His second son Murād had Jesuit instructors, and was taught to invoke the name of Jesus Christ. (Von Noer, *Akbar*, transl. by Beveridge, Vol. I, p.p. 316, 325-332; II, pp. 8, 227, 236.)

The author is not quite correct in stating that "the duties of the artillery . . . were everywhere entrusted exclusively to Europeans, and all Europeans were Christians."

Turks of Constantinople were employed as artillerymen in India as early as the struggle between Humāyūn and Shēr Shāh (A.D. 1540-1556) (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p.p. 603, note, 605); and continued to be employed in subsequent reigns. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 132, note).

The author's closing remarks about the dependence of Christianity in India on political circumstances are still partially true so far as Northern India is concerned, but do not apply to the ancient Christian churches of Southern India. Sir Thomas Herbert (*Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 340), gives a good description of the forms of worship used by the southern congregations, which still flourish, as they have done from very early times.

The passage in the Korān referred to by Herbert is probably the verse from chapter ii, repeated in chapter v;—"Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians, whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord; there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved." Sale's notes give the various views of the commentators on this passage.

CHAPTER LIII¹

Father Gregory's Notion of the Impediments to Conversion in India—
Inability of Europeans to speak Eastern Languages.

FATHER GREGORY, the Roman Catholic priest, dined with us one evening, and Major Godby took occasion to ask him at table, "What progress our religion was making among the people?"

"Progress!" said he; "why, what progress can we ever hope to make among a people who, the moment we begin to talk to them about the miracles performed by Christ, begin to tell us of those infinitely more wonderful performed by Krishna, who lifted a mountain upon his little finger, as an umbrella, to defend his shepherdesses at Govardhan from a shower of rain."²

The Hindoos never doubt any part of the miracles and prophecies of our scripture—they believe every word of them; and the only thing that surprises them is that they should be so much less wonderful than those of their own scriptures, in which also they implicitly believe. Men who believe that the histories of the wars and amours of Rām and Krishna, two of the incarnations of Vishnu, were written some fifty thousand years before these wars and amours actually took place upon the earth, would of course easily believe in the fulfilment of any prophecy that might be

¹ Chapter V of Vol. II of original edition.

² Govardhan is a very sacred place of pilgrimage, full of temples, situated in the Mathurā (Muttra) district, sixteen miles west of Mathurā. Regulation V. of 1826 annexed Govardhan to the Agra district. In 1832 Mathurā was made the headquarters of a new district, Govardhan and other territory being transferred from Agra.

related to them out of any other book ;¹ and, as to miracles, there is absolutely nothing too extraordinary for their belief. If a Christian of respectability were to tell a Hindoo that, to satisfy some scruples of the Corinthians, St. Paul had brought the sun and moon down upon the earth, and made them rebound off again into their places, like tennis balls, without the slightest injury to any of the three planets [*sic*], I do not think he would feel the slightest doubt of the truth of it ; but he would immediately be put in mind of something still more extraordinary that Krishna did to amuse the milkmaids, or to satisfy some sceptics of his day, and relate it with all the *naïveté* imaginable.

I saw at Agra Mirzā Kām Baksh, the eldest son of Sulaimān Shikoh, the eldest son of the brother of the present Emperor. He had spent a season with us at Jubbulpore, while prosecuting his claim to an estate against the Rājā of Rīwā. The Emperor, Shāh Alam, in his flight before our troops from Bengal (1762), struck off the high road to Delhi at Mirzapore, and came down to Rīwā, where he found an asylum during the season of the rains with the Rīwā Rājā, who assigned for his residence the village of Makanpur.² His wife, the Empress, was here delivered of a son, the present Emperor of Hindustān, Akbar Shāh ; and the Rājā assigned to him and his heirs for ever the fee simple of this village. As the members of this family increased in geometrical ratio, under the new system,

¹ The Purānas, even when narrating history after a fashion, are cast in the form of prophecies. The Bhāgavat Purāna is especially devoted to the legends of Krishna. Its Hindī version is known as the "Prēm Sāgar," or "Ocean of Love," and is, perhaps, the most wearisome book in the world.

² This flight occurred during the struggles which followed the battle of Plassy in 1757, and were terminated by the battle of Buxar in 1764, and the grant to the East India Company of the civil administration of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa in the following year. Shāh Alam bore, in weakness and misery, the burden of the imperial title from 1759 to 1806. From 1765 he was the dependent and pensioner of the English. In 1788 he was barbarously blinded by the Rohilla chief, Ghulam Kadir.

which gave them plenty to eat with nothing to do, the Emperor had of late been obliged to hunt round for little additions to his income ; and in his search he found that Makanpur gave name to a "pargana," or little district, of which it was the capital, and that a good deal of merchandise passed through this district, and paid heavy dues to the Rājā. Nothing, he thought, would be lost by trying to get the whole district instead of the village ; and for this purpose he sent down Kām Baksh, the ablest man of the whole family, to urge and prosecute his claim ; but the Rājā was a close, shrewd man, and not to be *done out* of his revenue, and Kām Baksh was obliged to return minus some thousand rupees, which he had spent in attempting to keep up appearances.

The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Muhammedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Muhammadan gentleman of education is tolerably acquainted with astronomy, as it was taught by Ptolemy ; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato ; with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or, as they call him, Abū-Alī-sīna ;¹ and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so ; and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have ; and yet I feel myself sadly deficient when I enter, as I often do, into discussions with Muhammadan gentle-

¹ The name is printed as Booalee Shina in the original edition, which seems to be meant for the form given in the text. He died in A.D. 1037, and was the author of various works on medicine and philosophy. His name is also given as Abū Sīna, or Ibn Sīna.

men of education upon the subject of the character of the governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people ; the arts and the sciences ; the faculties and operations of the human mind ; and the thousand other things which are subjects of every-day conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my ideas ; but these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them ; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can ; but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant—this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it.

We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their “ sipāhīs ” (sepoys) and native officers, about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill ; or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field ; and, as long as they are understood, they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range ; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas ; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking, without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment, to native princes on the most ordinary subjects of every-day interest in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspire us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speak-

ing to them.¹ We must learn their language better, or we must teach them our own, before we can venture to introduce among them those free institutions which would oblige us to meet them on equal terms at the bar, on the bench, and in the senate.² Perhaps two of the best secular works that were ever written upon the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the duties of men in their relations with each other, are those of Imām-ud-din Ghazālī, and Nasīr-ud-din of Tūs.³ Their idol was Plato, but their works are of a more practical character than his, and less dry than those of Aristotle.

¹ These remarks of the author should help to dispel the common delusion that the English officials of the olden time spoke the native languages better than their more highly trained successors.

² The author wrote these words at the moment of the inauguration of the new policy by Lord William Bentinck and Macaulay which established English as the official language of the country, and the vehicle for the higher instruction of the natives. This policy was enunciated in the resolution dated 7th March, 1835. The decision then formed and acted on alone rendered possible the employment of natives in the higher branches of the administration. Such employment has gradually, year by year, increased, and will certainly further increase, at least up to the extreme limit of safety. Now, in 1893, native Judges sit in every High Court in India, and the bar is crowded with native barristers and pleaders of all grades. For many years past native members have sat in the Legislative Councils, and, under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, their number and influence in those assemblies will be largely increased. A good outline of the policy adopted by Macaulay and Lord William Bentinck is given by Mr. D. Boulger in chapter viii. of his little book on Lord William Bentinck in the "Rulers of India" series.

³ Khojah Nāsir-ud-dīn of Tūs in Persia was a great astronomer and mathematician in the thirteenth century. The author's Imām-ud-dīn Ghazālī seems to be intended for Abū Hāmid al Ghazālī, one of the most famous of Musulmān doctors. He was born at Tūs, the modern Mashbad (Meshed) in Khurāsān, and died in A.D. 1111. His works are very numerous. One is entitled *The Ruin of Philosophies*, and another, the most celebrated, is *The Resuscitation of Religious Sciences*. (F. J. Arbuthnot, *A Manual of Arabian History and Literature*, London, 1890.) These authors are again referred to in a subsequent chapter.

I may here mention the following, among many instances that occur to me, of the amusing mistakes into which Europeans are liable to fall in their conversation with natives.

Mr. J. W——n, of the Bengal Civil Service, commonly known by the name of Beau W——n,¹ was the Honourable Company's opium agent at Patna, when I arrived at Dinapore to join my regiment in 1810.² He had a splendid house, and lived in excellent style; and was never so happy as when he had a dozen young men from the Dinapore cantonments living with him. He complained that year, as I was told, that he had not been able to save more than one hundred thousand rupees that season out of his salary and commission upon the opium, purchased by the government from the cultivators.³ The members of the civil service, in the other branches of public service, were all anxious to have it believed by their countrymen that they were well acquainted with their duties, and able and willing to perform them; but the Honourable Company's commercial agents were, on the contrary, generally anxious to make their countrymen believe that they neither knew nor cared anything about their duties, because they were ashamed of them. They were sinecure posts for the drones of the service, or for those who had great interest and no capacity.⁴ Had any young man made it appear that he really thought W——n knew or cared anything about his

¹ The gentleman referred to was Mr. John Wilton, who was appointed to the service in 1775.

² The cantonments at Dinapore (properly Dhānapur) are ten miles distant from the great city of Patna.

³ The rupee was worth only one shilling and twopence in 1810. The remuneration of high officials by commission has been long abolished.

⁴ There are two opium agents, one at Patna, and the other at Ghāzipur, who administer the Opium Department under the control of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta. Modern conditions do not permit these responsible officials to lead the easy and luxurious life described by the author.

duties, he would certainly never have been invited to his house again ; and if any one knew, certainly no one seemed to know that he had any other duty than that of entertaining his guests.

No one ever spoke the native language so badly, because no man had ever so little intercourse with the natives ; and it was, I have been told, to his ignorance of the native languages that his bosom friend, Mr. P——st, owed his life on one occasion. W. sat by the sick bed of his friend with unwearied attention, for some days and nights, after the doctors had declared his case entirely hopeless. He proposed at last to try change of air, and take him on the river Ganges. The doctors, thinking that he might as well die in his boat on the river, as in his house at Calcutta, consented to his taking him on board. They got up as far as Hooghly, when P. said that he felt better, and thought he could eat something. What should it be? A little roasted kid perhaps. The very thing that he was longing for! W. went out upon the deck to give orders for the kid, that his friend might not be disturbed by the gruff voice of the old “khānsāmā” (butler). P. heard the conversation, however.

“Khānsāmā,” said the Beau W., “you know that my friend Mr. P. is very ill?”

“Yes, sir.”

“And that he has not eaten anything for a month?”

“A long time for a man to fast, sir.”

“Yes, Khānsāmā, and his stomach is now become very delicate, and could not stand anything strong.”

“Certainly not, sir.”

“Well, Khānsāmā, then he has taken a fancy to a roasted *mare*” (“mādiyān”), meaning a “halwān,” or kid.¹

“A roasted mare, sir?”

“Yes, Khānsāmā, a roasted mare, which you must have nicely prepared.”

¹ These Persian words would not now be used in orders to servants.

"What, the whole, sir?"

"Not the whole at one time; but have the whole ready, as there is no knowing what part he may like best."

The old butler had heard of the Tartars eating their horses when in robust health, but the idea of a sick man, not able to move in his bed without assistance, taking a fancy to a roasted mare, quite staggered him.

"But, sir, I may not be able to get such a thing as a mare at a moment's notice; and if I get her she will be very dear."

"Never mind, Khānsāmā, get you the mare, cost what she will; if she costs a thousand rupees my friend shall have her. He has taken a fancy to the mare, and the mare he shall have, if she cost a thousand rupees."

The butler made his salaam, said he would do his best, and took his leave, requesting that the boats might be kept at the bank of the river till he came back.

W. went into his sick friend, who, with great difficulty, managed to keep his countenance while he complained of the liberties old servants were in the habit of taking with their masters. "They think themselves privileged," said W., "to conjure up difficulties in the way of everything that one wants to have done."

"Yes," said P——st, "we like to have old and faithful servants about us, particularly when we are sick; but they are apt to take liberties, which new ones will not."

In about two hours the butler's approach was announced from the deck, and W. walked out to scold him for his delay. The old gentleman was coming down over the bank, followed by about eight men bearing the four quarters of an old mare. The butler was very fat; and the proud consciousness of having done his duty, and met his master's wishes in a very difficult and important point, had made him a perfect Falstaff. He marshalled his men in front of the cooking boat, and then came towards his master, who, for some time stood amazed, and unable to

speak. At last he roared out,—“And what the devil have you here?”

“Why the *mare* that the sick gentleman took a fancy for; and dear enough she has cost me; not a farthing less than two hundred rupees would the fellow take for his mare.”

P.—st could contain himself no longer; he burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, during which the abscess in his liver burst into the intestines, and he felt himself relieved, as if by enchantment. The mistake was rectified—he got his kid; and in ten days he was taken back to Calcutta a sound man, to the great astonishment of all the doctors.

During the first campaign against Nepāl, in 1815, Colonel, now Major-General, O. H., who commanded the — regiment, N.I.,¹ had to march with his regiment through the town of Darbhanga, the capital of the Rājā, who came to pay his respects to him. He brought a number of presents, but the colonel, a high-minded, amiable man, never took anything himself, nor suffered any person in his camp to do so, in the districts they passed through without paying for it. He politely declined to take any of the presents; but said that he “had heard that Darbhanga produced *crows* (‘kauwā’), and should be glad to get some of them if the Rājā could spare them,”—meaning *coffee*, or “kahwā.”

The Rājā stared, and said that certainly they had abundance of crows in Darbhanga; but he thought they were equally abundant in all parts of India.

“Quite the contrary, Rājā Sāhib, I assure you,” said the colonel; “there is not such a thing as a crow to be found in any part of the Company’s dominions that I have seen, and I have been all over them.”

¹ This officer was Sir Joseph O’Halloran, K.C.B., who was attached to the 18th Regiment, N.I. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel on June 4th, 1814, and Major-General on January 10th, 1837. He is mentioned in *Ramaseeana* (p. 59) as Brigadier-General commanding the Sāgar Division.

"Very strange," said the Rājā, turning round to his followers.

"Yes," replied they, "it is very strange, Rājā Sāhib ; but such is your 'ikbāl' (good fortune), that everything thrives under it ; and, if the colonel should wish to have a few crows, we could easily collect them for him."

"If," said the colonel, greatly delighted, "you could provide us with a few of these crows, we should really feel very much obliged to you ; for we have a long and cold campaign before us among the bleak hills of Nepāl ; and we are all fond of crows."

"Indeed," returned the Rājā, "I shall be happy to send you as many as you wish." ("Much" and "many" are expressed by the same term.)

"Then we should be glad to have two or three bags full, if it would not be robbing you."

"Not in the least," said the Rājā, "I will go home and order them to be collected immediately."

In the evening, as the officers, with the colonel at their head, were sitting down to dinner, a man came up to announce the Rājā's present. Three fine large bags were brought in, and the colonel requested that one might be opened immediately. It was opened accordingly, and the mess butler ("khansāmān") drew out by the legs a fine old crow. The colonel immediately saw the mistake, and laughed as heartily as the rest at the result. A polite message was sent to the Rājā, requesting that he would excuse his having made it—for he had had half a dozen men out shooting crows all day with their matchlocks. Few Europeans spoke the language better than General —, and I do not believe that one European in a thousand, at this very moment, makes any difference, or knows any difference, in the sound of the two terms.

Kām Baksh had one sister married to the King of Oudh, and another to Mirzā Salīm, the younger son of the Emperor. Mirzā Salīm and his wife could not agree, and a separation took place, and she went to reside with her

sister, the Queen of Oudh. The king saw her frequently ; and, finding her more beautiful than his wife, he demanded her also in marriage from her father, who resided at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, on a pension of five thousand rupees a month from the king. He would not consent, and demanded his daughter; the king, finding her willing to share his bed and board with her sister, would not give her up.¹ The father got his old friend, Colonel Gardiner, who had married a Muhammadan woman of rank, to come down and plead his cause. The king gave up the young woman, but at the same time stopped the father's pension, and ordered him and all his family out of his dominions. He set out with Colonel Gardiner and his daughter, on his road to Delhi, through Kāsganj, the residence of the colonel, who was one day recommending the prince to seek consolation for the loss of his pension in the proud recollection of having saved the honour of the *house of Tamerlane*, when news was brought to them that the daughter had run off from camp with his (Colonel Gardiner's) son James, who had accompanied him to Lucknow. The prince and the colonel mounted their horses, and rode after him ; but they were so much heavier and older than the young ones, that they soon gave up the chase in despair. Sulaimān Shikoh insisted upon the colonel immediately fighting him, after the fashion of the English, with swords or pistols, but was soon persuaded that the honour of the house of Taimūr would be much better preserved by allowing the offending parties to marry!² The king of Oudh was delighted to find that the

¹ The king's demand was improper and illegal. The Muhammadan law, like the Jewish (Leviticus xviii, 18), prohibits a man from being married to two sisters at once. "Ye are also forbidden to take to wife two sisters ; except what is already past : for God is gracious and merciful." (*Korān*, Ch. IV.) Compare the ruling in "*Mishkāt-ul-Masābih*," Book XIII, Ch. V, Part II (*Matthews*, Vol. II, p. 94.)

² The colonel's son has succeeded to his father's estates, and he and his wife are, I believe, very happy together. [W. H. S.] Such an incident would, of course, be now inconceivable. The family name is

old man had been so punished ; and the queen no less so to find herself so suddenly and unexpectedly relieved from all dread of her sister's return. All parties wrote to my friend Kām Baksh, who was then at Jubbulpore ;¹ and he came off with their letters to me to ask whether I thought the incident might not be turned to account in getting the pension for his father restored.²

also spelled Gardner. The romantic history of the Gardners is summarized in the appendix to "A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, from 1784 to 1803" ; compiled by Herbert Compton ; London, 1892.

¹ *Ante*, p.p. 408, 416.

² Kāsganj, the residence of Colonel Gardner, is in the Mainpuri district of the North-Western Provinces.



CHAPTER LIV¹

Fathpur Sikrī—The Emperor Akbar's Pilgrimage—Birth of Jahāngir.

ON the 6th January we left Agra, which soon after became the residence of the Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe.² It was, when I was there, the residence of a civil commissioner, a judge, a magistrate, a collector of land revenue, a collector of customs, and all their assistants and establishments. A brigadier commands the station, which contained a park of artillery, one regiment of European, and four regiments of native infantry.³

Near the artillery practice-ground, we passed the tomb of Jodh Bāī, the wife of the Emperor Akbar, and the mother

¹ Chapter VI of Vol. II of original edition.

² The Act of 1833 (3 & 4 William IV, c. 85), which reconstituted the government of India, provided that the upper provinces should be formed into a separate Presidency under the name of Agra, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was nominated as the first Governor. On reconsideration, this arrangement was modified, and, instead of the Presidency of Agra, the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces was formed, with headquarters at Agra. Sir C. Metcalfe became Lieutenant-Governor in 1836, but held the office for a short time only, until January, 1838, when Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, took over temporary charge. The seat of the Local Government was moved to Allahabad in 1868. Since 1877 the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces has been also Chief Commissioner of Oudh. The name North-Western Provinces, though it has become unsuitable and misleading since the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849, is still retained.

³ The civil establishment and garrison are still nearly the same as in the author's time. The customs department is now concerned only with the salt monopoly. The offices of district magistrate and collector of land revenue have long been combined in a single officer.

of Jahāngīr. She was of Rājput caste, daughter of the Hindoo chief of Jodhpur, a very beautiful, and, it is said, a very amiable woman.¹ The Mogul Emperors, though Muhammadans, were then in the habit of taking their wives from among the Rājput princes of the country, with a view to secure their allegiance. The tomb itself is in ruins, having only part of the dome standing, and the walls and magnificent gateway that at one time surrounded it have been all taken away and sold by a *thrifty* government, or appropriated to purposes of more practical utility.²

¹ Akbar married the daughter of Bihārī Mal, chief of Jaipur, in A.D. 1562. Some writers suppose that she was the mother of Jahāngīr. The question is discussed in Blochmann's translation of the "Ain-i-Akbari," Vol. I, p. 329, and by Mr. Beveridge in *Journal of As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LVI, Part I, p.p. 164-167.

The Jodhpur princess was given the title of "Maryam-uz-Zamānī," or "Mary of the age," which circumstance probably originated the belief that Akbar had one Christian queen. "There can be no reasonable doubt that Jodh Bāi was the wife, and not the mother of Jahāngīr. She was the daughter of Moth, Rājā of Jodhpur. Jahāngīr's mother was in all probability the daughter of Rājā Bihārī Mal, a Kachhwāhā Rājput, and sister of Rājā Bhagwān Dās." (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 731. See also Von Noer, *Akbar*, Vol. I, p. 148. Mr. Beveridge holds, and I think rightly, that Jodh Bāi is not a proper name. It seems to mean merely "princess of Jodhpur." He says that there were two Jodh Bāis, one the sister of Udai Singh, married by Akbar, and the other the daughter of Udai Singh, married by Jahāngīr. Mr. Beveridge is of opinion that the mother of Jahāngīr was probably a Muhammadan lady, Salimah Sultān Bēgam, the daughter of Humāyūn's sister, and the widow of Bairām Khān.

² "It is now entirely destroyed, having been blown up with gunpowder by the Government about forty years ago (some say because the place had become a rendezvous for thieves), and gates and walls and towers of the outer enclosure were pulled down, and the materials taken away to build barracks in the cantonments with. The mausoleum itself, however, was too tough, too hard a nut to crack for that purpose, and it was therefore left as it is, after being blown up,—a huge, shapeless heap of massive fragments of masonry, which neither the hammer of man, nor of time, can dissolve or destroy." The building consisted of a square room raised on a platform, with a vault below. Some say that the marble tomb or cenotaph of the queen still exists in the vault. A fine gateway formerly existed at the entrance to

I have heard many Muhammadans say that they could trace the decline of their empire in Hindustan to the loss of the Rājput blood in the veins of their princes.¹ Better blood than that of the Rājputs of India certainly never flowed in the veins of any human beings; or, what is the same thing, no blood was ever believed to be finer by the people themselves and those they had to deal with. The difference is all in the imagination, and the imagination is all-powerful with nations as with individuals. The Britons thought their blood the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Romans, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons. The Saxons thought theirs the finest in the world till they were conquered by the Danes and the Normans. This is the history of the human race. The quality of the blood of a whole people has depended often upon the fate of a battle, which in the ancient world doomed the vanquished to the hammer; and the hammer changed the blood of those sold by it from generation to generation. How many Norman robbers got their blood ennobled, and how many Saxon nobles got theirs plebeianized by the

the enclosure, and there was a small mosque to the west of the tomb. (Mr. Carlleyle, in *Archæol. Reports*, Vol. IV, p. 121, published in 1874.) It is painful to be obliged to record so many instances of vandalism committed by English officials. This tomb appears to be the memorial of the Jodh Bāi, daughter of Udai Singh, who was married to Jahāngīr in A.D. 1585, and was the mother of Shāh Jahān. Her personal names were Jagat Goshaini and Bālmātī. She died in A.D. 1619. Akbar's Jodhpur queen, Maryam-uz-Zamānī, who died in A.D. 1623, is buried at Sikandra. (*Beale, s.v. Jodh Bāi and Mariam Zamānī.*)

¹ Though it may be admitted that the Rājput strain of blood improved the constitution of the royal family of Delhi, the decline and fall of the Timuride dynasty cannot be truly ascribed to "the loss of the Rājput blood in the veins" of the ruling princes. The empire was tottering to its fall long before the death of Aurangzēb, who "had himself married two Hindoo wives; and he wedded his son Muazzam (afterwards the Emperor Bahādur) to a Hindoo princess, as his forefathers had done before him." (Lane-Poole, *The History of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan illustrated by their Coins*, p. xviii.) The wonder is, not that the empire of Delhi fell, but that it lasted so long.

Battle of Hastings ; and how difficult it would be for any of us to say from which we descended,—the Britons or the Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans ; or in what particular action our ancestors were the victors or the vanquished, and became ennobled or plebeianized by the thousand accidents which influence the fate of battles. A series of successful aggressions upon their neighbours will commonly give a nation a notion that they are superior in courage ; and pride will make them attribute this superiority to blood—that is, to an old date. This was, perhaps, never more exemplified than in the case of the Gürkhas of Nepāl, a small diminutive race of men, not unlike the Huns, but certainly as brave as any men can possibly be. A Gürkha thought himself equal to any four other men of the hills, though they were all much stronger ; just as a Dane thought himself equal to four Saxons at one time in Britain. The other men of the hills began to think that he really was so, and could not stand before him.¹

We passed many wells from which the people were watering their fields, and found those which yielded a brackish water were considered to be much more valuable for irrigation than those which yielded sweet water. It is the same in the valley of the Nerbudda, but brackish water does not suit some soils and some crops. On the 8th we reached Fathpur Sikrī, which lies about twenty-four miles from Agra, and stands upon the back of a narrow range of sandstone hills, rising abruptly from the alluvial plains to the highest, about one hundred feet, and extends three miles north-north-east and south-south-west. This place owes its celebrity to a Muhammadan saint, the Shaikh Salim of Chisht, a town in Persia, who owed his to the following circumstance :—

The Emperor Akbar's sons had all died in infancy, and

¹ When the author wrote the above remarks, Englishmen knew the gallant Gürkhas as enemies only ; they now know them as worthy and equal brethren in arms. The recruitment of Gürkhas for the British service began in 1838.

he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the celebrated Muīn-ud-dīn of Chisht, at Ajmīr. He and his family went all the way on foot at the rate of three "kōs," or four miles, a day,¹ a distance of about three hundred and fifty miles. "Kanāts," or cloth walls, were raised on each side of the road, carpets spread over it, and high towers of burnt bricks erected at every stage, to mark the places where he rested. On reaching the shrine, he made a supplication to the saint, who at night appeared to him in his sleep, and recommended him to go and entreat the intercession of a very holy old man, who lived a secluded life upon the top of the little range of hills at Sikri. He went accordingly, and was assured by the old man, then ninety-six years of age, that the Empress Jodh Bāī, the daughter of a Hindoo prince,² would be delivered of a son, who would live to a good old age. She was then pregnant, and remained in the vicinity of the old man's hermitage till her confinement, which took place 31st of August, 1569.³ The infant was called after the hermit, Mirzā Salim, and became in time Emperor of Hindostan, under the name of Jahāngīr.

¹ The "kōs" varies much in value, but in most parts of the North-Western Provinces it is reckoned as equal to two miles. According to the *Gazetteer* (p. 568), the nearest approximate value for the Agra kōs is $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile. Three kōs would, therefore, be equal to about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles. According to the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, the Emperor, "on Friday, the 12th Sha'bān, 977 (=20 January, 1570, N.S.), started on foot from Agra to Ajmīr. Every day he travelled seven or eight kōs." (Dowson's *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 334.) This statement is no doubt accurate. Akbar was a man of very active habits, and well able to walk fourteen miles a day. He spent some days at Ajmīr, and arrived at Delhi during the following month of Ramazān, which lasted from the 7th Feb to 8th March. He must have reached Ajmīr about the middle of February. At the rate stated by the author he would have been nearly three months on the road.

² See *ante*, note, p. 420.

³ [N.S.] These dates are those given by the historian, but are inconsistent. The pilgrimage took place before the birth of the prince, and, if the correct date of the birth is 17 Rabi' Awwal, 977 A.H. = 31st August, 1569, the pilgrimage must have taken place in A.H. 976, that is to say, in January, 1569, not in January, 1570.

It was to this Emperor Jahāngir that Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador, was sent from the English Court.¹ Akbar, in order to secure to himself, his family, and his people, the advantage of the continued intercessions of so holy a man, took up his residence at Sikrī, and covered the hill with magnificent buildings for himself, his courtiers, and his public establishments.²

The quadrangle, which contains the mosque on the west side, and tomb of the old hermit in the centre, was completed in the year 1578, six years before his death; and is, perhaps, one of the finest in the world. It is five hundred and seventy-five feet square, and surrounded by a high wall, with a magnificent cloister all around within.³ On

¹ Sir Thomas Roe was sent out by James I., and arrived at Jahāngir's court in January, 1616. He remained there till 1618, and secured for his countrymen the privilege of trading at Surat. His Journal and observations were reprinted in Pinkerton's "General Collection of Voyages and Travels."

² "The design appears to have been to build a large city here, a design never carried out. . . . At the time when this new city was founded there was no town where the present one of Fathpur stands; the town or village then existing was where the present one of Sikrī is. Akbar's capital is generally alluded to in the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, and is also usually mentioned in the histories, by the name Fathpur only. The better opinion seems to be that Akbar gave this name simply to the city he founded, and this has the support of Farishta (Briggs' translation, II, 234), who wrote—"the king [Akbar], considering the village of Sikrī a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after the conquest of Guzarāt, he called Fathpur." This is more probable than the supposition that the name of Sikrī was changed to Fathpur by Bābar, in commemoration of his victory there in 1527 (see Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v.; *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 728). Fathpur Sikrī simply means "Fathpur near Sikrī," the double name being used to distinguish it from the many other towns called Fathpur. This form of nomenclature is very common in India. The coins of Akbar of the years A.H. 986-989 give the name of the mint as Fathpur only. The birth of Murād took place in 1570, and the buildings were begun in that year. Salim Chishtī's tomb is dated 1581.

³ "The glory, however, of Fathpur Sikrī is its mosque, which is hardly surpassed by any in India. It measures 550 feet east and west,

the outside is a magnificent gateway, at the top of a noble flight of steps twenty-four feet high. The whole gateway is one hundred and twenty feet in height, and the same in breadth, and presents beyond the wall five sides of an octagon, of which the front face is eighty feet wide. The arch in the centre of this space is sixty feet high by forty wide.¹ This gateway is no doubt extremely grand and beautiful; but what strikes one most is the disproportion between the thing wanted and the thing provided—there seems to be something quite preposterous in forming so enormous an entrance for a poor diminutive man to walk through, and walk he must, unless carried through on men's shoulders; for neither elephant, horse, nor bullock

by 470 feet north and south over all. The mosque itself, 290 feet by 80 feet, is crowned by three domes. In its courtyard, which measures 350 feet by 440 feet, stand two tombs; that of Salīm Chishtī, wholly in white marble, and the windows with pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns—flowing tracery is a subsequent invention. It possesses besides a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of the most elaborate design, so much so, indeed, as to be almost fantastic—the only approach to bad taste in the place; the other tomb, that of Islām Khān, is soberer and in excellent taste, but quite eclipsed by its surroundings.” (Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. and E. Arch.*, 2nd ed., p. 580.) The measurements given by Mr. Keene differ from those of Fergusson, as well as from those of the author. The detailed survey of Fathpur Sikri by Mr. E. W. Smith, now in progress under the orders of the Local Government, will finally set at rest all doubts concerning the measurements of the various buildings. Islām Khān, referred to by Fergusson, was governor of Bengal in the reign of Jahāngīr, and a grandson of the saint Salīm. He was married to a sister of Abūl Fazl, and died A.D. 1613. (*Beale*.)

¹ “Even these parts, however, are surpassed in magnificence by the southern gateway, measuring 130 feet by 85 feet in plan, and of proportionate dimensions in height. As it stands on a rising ground, when looked at from below, its appearance is noble beyond that of any portal attached to any mosque in India, perhaps in the whole world.” (*Fergusson, loc. cit.*) This portal is known as the “Buland Darwāza,” or “Lofty Gateway.” According to the *Gazetteer*, its height above the plateau on which it stands is 130 feet. In the original edition a chromolithograph of this gateway is given. It is engraved from a photograph in Fergusson's work.

could ascend over the flight of steps. In all these places the staircases, on the contrary, are as disproportionately small; they look as if they were made for rats to crawl through, while the gateways seem as if they were made for ships to sail under.¹ One of the most interesting sights

¹ The author's reference to the small size of the staircases is not intelligible. The word "staircases" is, perhaps, a slip of the pen for "doors." He has just spoken of the "noble flight of steps." The internal staircases in the wings are, of course, cramped. Fergusson took a juster view of the design of the archway. "This gateway," he observes (*loc. cit.*), "may also be quoted as a perfectly satisfactory solution of a problem which has exercised the ingenuity of architects in all ages, but was more successfully treated by the Saracenic architects than by any others."

"It was always manifest that to give a large building a door at all in proportion to its dimensions was, to say the least of it, very inconvenient. Men are only six feet high, and they do not want portals through which elephants might march. The Greeks never ventured, however, to reduce the proportionate size of their portals, though it may be they only opened the lower half, and they covered them, in almost all instances, with portals, to give them a dignity that even their dimensions failed to impart."

"The Gothic architects tried, by splaying their deeply embowed doorways, and by ornamenting them richly with carving and sculpture, to give them the dignity that was indispensable for their situation without unnecessarily increasing the size of the openings. It was left, however, for the Saracenic architects completely to get over the difficulty. They placed their portals—one, or three, or five, of very moderate dimensions—at the back of a semi-dome. This last feature thus became the porch or portico, and its dimensions became those of the portal, wholly irrespective of the size of the opening. No one, for instance, looking at this gateway can mistake that it is a doorway, and that only, and no one thinks of the size of the openings which are provided at its base. The semi-dome is the modulus of the design, and its scale that by which the imagination measures its magnificence."

"The same system pervades almost all the portals of the age and style, and always with a perfectly satisfactory result—sometimes even more satisfactory than in this instance, though, it may be, in less proportionate dimensions. The principle seems the best that has yet been hit upon, and, when that is right, failure is as difficult as it is to achieve success when the principle of the design is wrong."

was the immense swarms of swallows flying round the thick bed of nests that occupy the apex of this arch, and, to the spectators below, they look precisely like a swarm of bees round a large honeycomb. I quoted a passage in the Korān in praise of the swallows, and asked the guardians of the place whether they did not think themselves happy in having such swarms of sacred birds over their heads all day long. "Not at all," said they, "they oblige us to sweep the gateway ten times a day, but there is no getting at their nests, or we should soon get rid of them." They then told me that the sacred bird of the Korān was the "abābil," or large black swallow, and not the "partādil," a little piebald thing of no religious merit whatever.¹ On the right side of the entrance is engraven on stone in large letters, standing out in bas-relief, the following passage in Arabic :—"Jesus, on whom be peace, has said, 'The world is merely a bridge ; you are to pass over it, and not to build your dwellings upon it.'" Where this saying of Christ is to be found I know not, nor has any Muham-madan yet been able to tell me ; but the quoting of such a passage, in such a place, is a proof of the absence of all bigotry on the part of Akbar.²

¹ See the 105th chapter of the Korān. * "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the masters of the elephant? Did he not make their treacherous design an occasion of drawing them into error ; and send against them flocks of *swallows* which cast down upon them stones of baked clay, and rendered them like the leaves of corn eaten by cattle?" [W. H. S.] The quotation is from Sale's translation, but Sale uses the word "birds," and not "*swallows*." In his note, where he tells the whole story, he speaks of "a large flock of birds like swallows." The Arabic, Persian, and Hindustāni dictionaries give no other word than "abābil" for swallow. The word "partādil" (purtadeel) occurs in none of them. According to Oates' *Fauna of British India* (London, 1890), the "abābil" is the common swallow, *Hirundo rustica* ; and the "mosque-swallow" ("masjid-abābil"), otherwise called "Sykes' striated swallow," is the *H. erythrogygia*. This latter species is evidently the "little piebald thing" mentioned by the author.

² Mr. Keene, in his *Handbook* (p. 63, ed. 1874), gives the following account of this remarkable inscription :—"His Majesty, King of

The tomb of Shaikh Salim, the hermit, is a very beautiful little building, in the centre of the quadrangle. The man who guards it told me that the Jāts, while they reigned, robbed this tomb, as well as those at Agra, of some of the most beautiful and valuable portion of the mosaic work.¹ "But," said he, "they were well plundered in their turn by your troops at Bharatpur; retribution always follows the wicked sooner or later."² He showed us the

Kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Jalāl-ud-din Muhammad Khān, the Emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the south, and Dān Dēs, which was formerly called Khān Dēs, in the divine year 46th (*i.e.*, of his accession), corresponding to the Hijrī year 1010. Having reached Fathpur he proceeded to Agra.' Then follow the usual fulsome praises, and then a sudden modulation into the minor key, in the shape of a passage from the Arabic *Hadīs*, or 'sacred traditions,' in the true spirit of the slave on the Roman car: 'Said Jesus, on whom be peace! The world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there; he who hopeth for an hour, may hope for an eternity; the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion; the rest is unseen. . . .' The whole set of inscriptions is valuable as a trait of character; the Emperor probably devised or sanctioned the idea. He died about four years after the date recorded in that first cited; and, perhaps, as his clouded end approached, he may have been led to ponder on the folly of building so many 'houses,' and forming such vast plans in such a transitory existence."

The year A.H. 1010 extended from Monday, 2nd July, 1601, to Thursday, 20th June, 1602 (N.S.). Akbar died 25th October, 1605 (N.S.). Khāndesh was renamed Dāndesh by Akbar in honour of his son Dāniyāl (Daniel). Akbar, at the beginning of A.D. 1584, instituted his peculiar "Ilāhī or 'divine' epoch, composed of solar years, and dating from the vernal equinox of the first year of his reign (1556)." (*Lane-Poole, op. cit.*, p. lxi.) A table of the regnal years of Akbar is given in Dowson's *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 246.

¹ The Jāts seem to have captured Agra in 1764. "That capture was followed by a sack, during which, unless tradition lies, the Jāts shot away the tops of the minarets flanking the entrance to the Sikandra tomb; snatched from that tomb and sent to Bharatpur the armour and books of Akbar; robbed from the Taj and melted down two silver doors, which had cost Shāhjahān over 1½ lakhs of rupees." (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 619.) Are Akbar's books still at Bharatpur? I suppose they have been scattered.

² We besieged and took Bharatpur in order to rescue the young

little roof of stone tiles, close to the original little dingy mosque of the old hermit, where the Empress gave birth to Jahāngīr; and told us that she was a very sensible woman, whose counsels had great weight with the Emperor.¹

prince, our ally, from his uncle, who had forcibly assumed the office of prime minister to his nephew. As soon as we got possession, all the property we found, belonging either to the nephew or the uncle, was declared to be prize money, and taken for the troops. The young prince was obliged to borrow an elephant from the prize agents to ride upon. He has ever since enjoyed the whole of the revenue of his large territory. [W. H. S.] The final siege and capture of Bharatpur by Lord Combermere took place in January, 1826.

¹ The people of India, no doubt, owed much of the good they enjoyed under the long reign of Akbar to this most excellent woman, who inspired, not only her husband, but the most able Muhammadan minister that India has ever had, with feelings of universal benevolence. It was from her that this great minister, Abūl Fazl, derived the spirit that dictated the following passages in his admirable work, the *Aīn-i-Akbarī*:—"Every sect becomes infatuated with its particular doctrines; animosity and dissension prevail, and each man deeming the tenets of his sect to be the dictates of truth itself, aims at the destruction of all others, vilifies reputation, stains the earth with blood, and has the vanity to imagine that he is performing meritorious actions. Were the voice of reason attended to, mankind would be sensible of their error, and lament the weaknesses which led them to interfere in the religious concerns of each other. Persecution, after all, defeats its own end; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them.

"Summarily, the Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, prone to inflict austerities on themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings.

"This character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle; when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour. They have great respect for their tutors; and make no account of their lives when they can devote them to the service of their God.

"They consider the Supreme Being to be above all labour, and believe Brahmā to be the creator of the world, Vishnu its preserver, and Siva its destroyer. But one sect believes that God, who hath no equal, appeared on earth under the three above-mentioned forms, without having been thereby polluted in the smallest degree, in the

"His majesty's only fault was," he said, "an inclination to learn the art of magic, which was taught him by an old Hindoo religious mendicant," whose apartment near the palace he pointed out to us.

"Fortunately," said our cicerone, "the fellow died before the Emperor had learnt enough to practise the art without his aid."

Shaikh Salim had, he declared, gone more than twenty times on pilgrimage to the tomb of the holy prophet ; and was not much pleased to have his repose so much disturbed by the noise and bustle of the imperial court. At last, Akbar wanted to surround the hill with regular fortifications, and the Shaikh could stand it no longer.¹ "Either you or I must leave this hill," said he to the Emperor ; "if the

same manner as the Christians speak of the Messiah ; others hold that all these were only human beings, who, on account of their sanctity and righteousness, were raised to these high dignities." [W. H. S.] The passage quoted is from Gladwin's translation, Vol. II, p. 318 (4th ed., London, 1800).

It would be difficult to prove the author's statement that Abūl Fazl learned his charity and toleration from the Hindoo mother of Jahāngīr. It is even doubtful whether the lady was a Hindoo or not (*ante*, p. 420, *note*). When Akbar and Abūl Fazl are compared with Elizabeth and Burleigh, Philip II and Alva, and the other sovereigns and ministers of the age in Europe, it seems to be little less than a miracle that the Indian statesmen should have held and practised the noble and truly Christian philosophy expounded in the above quotation from the "Institutes of Akbar." The more the character of Akbar is studied, the brighter does its glory appear. No man has better deserved the stately eulogy pronounced by Wordsworth on a hero now obscure :—

"A meteor wert thou in a darksome night ;
Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
Stand in the spacious firmament of time,
Fixed as a star : such glory is thy right."

(*Sonnets dedicated to Liberty*, Part Second, No. XVII.)

¹ Akbar surrounded the town with a battlemented wall, some 20 feet high, and seven miles in circumference, but erected no regular fortifications. "Traces of unfinished fortifications, such as the 'Sangin Burj' [Stone Tower] still exist there." (*Gazetteer*, p. 595.)

efficacy of my prayers is no longer to be relied upon, let me depart in peace." "If it be *your majesty's* will," replied the Emperor, "that one should go, let it be your slave, I pray." The old story:—"There is nothing like relying upon the efficacy of our prayers," say the priests, "Nothing like relying upon that of our sharp swords," say the soldiers; and, as nations advance from barbarism, they generally contrive to divide between them the surplus produce of the land and labour of society.

The old hermit consented to remain, and pointed out Agra as a place which he thought would answer the Emperor's purpose extremely well. Agra, then an unpeopled waste, soon became a city, and Fathpur Sikrī was deserted.¹ Cities which, like this, are maintained by the public establishments that attend and surround the courts of sovereign princes, must always, like this, become deserted when these sovereigns changed their resting-places. To the history of the rise and progress, decline and fall, of how many cities is this the key?

Close to the tomb of the saint is another containing the remains of a great number of his descendants, who continue to enjoy, under the successors of Akbar, large grants of rent-free lands for their own support, and for that of the mosque and mausoleum. These grants have, by degrees, been nearly all resumed;² and, as the repair of the buildings is now entrusted to the public officers of our

¹ This pious legend, of course, must not be accepted as matter-of-fact history. Akbar began the works at the fort of Agra in A.H. 974, corresponding to A.D. 1566-1567, two or three years before he began these at Fathpur in A.D. 1569-1570 (Dowson's *Elliot*, V, p.p. 295, 332); and the buildings at Agra and Fathpur were carried on concurrently. He continued building at Fathpur nearly to the close of his reign. The "Jesus" inscription there, quoted *ante*, p. 427, was recorded in the year 1601-2. One zodiacal coin of Jahāngir is known to have been struck at Fathpur in A.H. 1028=A.D. 1618-1619. (*Lane-Poole, op. cit.*, p. li.) Agra was never "an unpeopled waste" during Akbar's reign. Sikandar Lodi had made it his capital in A.D. 1501.

² That is to say, the grantees have now to pay land revenue, or rent, to the State.

government, the surviving members of the saint's family, who still reside among the ruins, are extremely poor. What strikes an European most in going over these palaces of the Moghal Emperors is the want of what a gentleman of fortune in his own country would consider elegantly comfortable accommodations. Five hundred pounds a year would at the present day secure him more of this in any civilized country of Europe or America than the greatest of those Emperors could command. He would, perhaps, have the same impression in going over the domestic architecture of the most civilized nations of the ancient world, Persia and Egypt, Greece and Rome.¹

¹ Unfortunately, no work exists to which the reader can be referred for an accurate and exhaustive account of the buildings at Agra, Sikandra, and Fathpur. The report of Mr. Carlleyle, Assistant to Sir A. Cunningham, on Agra, in Volume IV of the first series of the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey*, deals only with the minor remains in and near Agra, and contains many blunders, with hardly anything of value. Mr. Carlleyle says that Sir A. Cunningham was in possession of detailed plans and measurements of the Taj and other buildings of primary importance. None of these plans and measurements have been published.

Dr. Führer's work in the new series of *Reports of the Archaeological Survey* on the "Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh" gives a serviceable compendium of notes on the remains in and around Agra, but does not profess to offer more than bald summaries.

The Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, Vol. VII, discusses all the remains of antiquity more or less fully, and records some observations by local officers, which are not to be found elsewhere.

Major Cole, in 1873, prepared for the Archaeological Survey a handsome volume of "Illustrations of Buildings near Muttra and Agra, showing the mixed Hindu-Muhammadan Style of Upper India."

The late Mr. Fergusson, in his classical treatise on "Indian and Eastern Architecture," could spare only a few pages to the architecture of the Agra district. Every line of the little which he wrote on the subject is to the point and of permanent value.

Mr. Keene's Handbook, though the work of a scholar, is only a guide-book, and not always accurate, though more learned than books of its class ordinarily are.

The works above named are those which give the best existing

general accounts of the buildings of Agra and its neighbourhood. More or less valuable and detailed descriptions by travellers may be read in countless volumes. A thorough description of all the noteworthy structures at Agra, Sikandra, and Fathpur, fully illustrated with maps, plans, sections, elevations, detailed drawings, reproductions in colour, and general views, and accompanied by adequate archæological, historical, and æsthetic commentary, does not exist, and is much to be desired. It would amply fill at least three, and probably four or five, large quarto volumes. It should be furnished with from four to five hundred plates, and would require the collaboration of several scholars, architects, and artists. It could be well done for two or three thousand pounds—a sum which in these days of financial distress is not to be hoped for from the Indian government. Will none of the rich travellers who derive so much enjoyment from the still wondrously beautiful remains of Moghal magnificence provide the funds—to many of them a trifle—which are needed to produce an adequate and satisfactory record of the architectural glories of Agra? The architectural survey of Fathpur by Mr. E. W. Smith, carried out under the orders of the government of the North-Western Provinces, is nearly complete, and that government hopes to issue one or more volumes on the subject of early Moghal architecture. But the organization fitted to produce a series of monographs such as I have suggested does not exist. Until these have been produced, satisfactory smaller works on the subject cannot be written.



CHAPTER LV¹

Bharatpur—Dig—Want of employment for the Military and the Educated Classes under the Company's Rule.

OUR old friends, Mr. Charles Fraser, the Commissioner of the Agra Division, then on his circuit, and Major Godby, had come on with us from Agra and made our party very agreeable. On the 9th, we went fourteen miles to Bharatpur, over a plain of alluvial, but seemingly poor, soil, intersected by one low range of sandstone hills running north-east and south-west. The thick belt of jungle, three miles wide, with which the chiefs of Bharatpur used to surround their fortress while they were freebooters, and always liable to be brought into collision with their neighbours, has been fast diminishing since the capture of the place by our troops in 1826 ; and will very soon disappear altogether, and give place to rich sheets of cultivation, and happy little village communities. Our tents had been pitched close outside the Mathurā gate, near a small grove of fruit-trees, which formed the left flank of the last attack on this fortress by Lord Combermere.² Major Godby had been present during the whole siege ; and, as we went round the place in the evening on our elephants, he pointed out all the points of attack, and told all the anecdotes of the day that were interesting enough to be remembered for ten years. We went through the town, out at the opposite gate, and passed along the line of Lord Lake's attack in

¹ Chapter VII of Vol. II of original edition.

² On the unsuccessful sieges of Bharatpur *see ante*, note 1, p. 142.

1805.¹ All the points of his attack were also pointed out to us by our cicerone, an old officer in the service of the Rājā. It happened to be the anniversary of the first attempt to storm, which was made on the 9th of January, thirty-one years before. One old officer told us that he remembered Lord Lake sitting with three other gentlemen on chairs not more than half a mile from the ramparts of the fort.

The old man thought that the men of those days were quite a different sort of thing to the men of the present day, as well those who defended, as those who attacked the fort; and, if the truth must be told, he thought that the European lords and gentlemen had fallen off in the same scale as the rest.

"But," said the old man, "all these things are matter of destiny and providence. Upon that very bastion (pointing to the right point of Lord Lake's attack) stood a large twenty-four pounder, which was loaded and discharged three times by supernatural agency during one of your attacks—not a living soul was near it." We all smiled, incredulous; and the old man offered to bring a score of witnesses to the fact, men of unquestionable veracity. The left point of Lord Lake's attack was the Baldēo bastion, so called after Baldēo Singh, the second son of the then reigning chief, Ranjit Singh. The feats which Hector performed in the defence of Troy sink into utter insignificance before those which Baldēo performed in the defence of Bharatpur, according to the best testimony of the survivors of that great day. "But," said the old man, "he was, of course, acting under supernatural influence; he condescended to measure swords only with

¹ In the original edition the year is misprinted 1804, though the correct date is indicated by the phrase "thirty-one years before." The operations on the 9th January, 1805, are described in considerable detail in Thornton's history. Dig was taken on the 24th December, 1804, and Lord Lake's army moved from Mathurā towards Bharatpur on the 1st January, 1805.

Europeans ;” and their bodies filled the whole bastion in which he stood, according to the belief of the people, though no European entered it, I believe, during the whole siege. They pointed out to us where the different corps were posted. There was one corps which had signalized itself a good deal, but of which I had never before heard, though all around me seemed extremely well acquainted with it—this was the *Antā Gurgurs*. At last Godby came to my side, and told me this was the name by which the Bombay troops were always known in Bengal, though no one seemed to know whence it came. I am disposed to think that they derive it from the peculiar form of the caps of their sepoy, which are in form like the common hookah, called a “gurguri,” with a small ball at the top, like an “antā,” or tennis, or billiard ball ; hence “Antā Gurgurs.” The Bombay sepoy, were, I am told, always very angry when they heard that they were known by this term—they have always behaved like good soldiers, and need not be ashamed of this or any other name.

The water in the lake, about a mile to the west of Bharatpur, stands higher than the ground about the fortress ; and a drain had been opened, through which the water rushed in and filled the ditch all round the fort and great part of the plain to the south and east, before Lord Lake undertook the siege in 1805.¹ This water might, I believe, have been taken off to the eastward into the Jumna, had the outlet been discovered by the engineers. An attempt was made to cut the same drain on the approach of Lord Combermere in 1826 ; but a party went on, and stopped the work before much water had passed, and the ditch was almost dry when the siege began.

The walls being all of mud, and now dismantled, had a wretched appearance ;² and the town which is contained within them is, though very populous, a mere collection of

¹ As in the previous passage, this date is printed 1804 in the original edition.

² They have been repaired.

wretched hovels ; the only respectable habitation within is the palace, which consists of three detached buildings, one for the chief, another for the females of his family, and the third for his court of justice. I could not find a single trace of the European officers who had been killed here, either at the first or second siege, though I had been told that a small tomb had been built in a neighbouring grove over the remains of Brigadier-General Edwards, who fell in the last storm. It is, I believe, the only one that has ever been raised. The scenes of battles fought by the Muhammadan conquerors of India were commonly crowded with magnificent tombs, built over the slain, and provided for a time with the means of maintaining holy men who read the Korān over their graves. Not that this duty was necessary for the repose of their souls, for every Muhammadan killed in fighting against men who believed not in his prophet went, as a matter of course, to paradise ; and every unbeliever, killed in the same action, went as surely to hell. There are only a few hundred men, exclusive of the prophets, who, according to Muhammad, have the first place in paradise—those who shared in one or other of his first three battles, and believed in his holy mission before they had the evidence of a single victory over the unbelievers to support it. At the head of these are the men who accompanied him in his flight from Mecca to Medina, when he had no evidence either from *victories* or *miracles*. In all such matters the less the evidence adduced in proof of a mission the greater the merit of those who believe in it, according to the person who pretends to it ; and unhappily, the less the evidence a man has for his faith, the greater is his anger against other men for not joining in it with him. No man gets very angry with another for not joining with him in his faith in the demonstration of a problem in mathematics. Man likes to think that he is on the way to heaven upon such easy terms ; but gets angry at the notion that others won't join him, because they may consider him an imbecile for thinking that he is so. The

Muhammadan generals and historians are sometimes almost as concise as Cæsar himself in describing very conscientiously a battle of this kind; instead of "I came, I saw, I conquered"—it is "ten thousand Musalmāns on that day tasted of the blessed fruit of paradise, after sending fifty thousand unbelievers to the flames of hell."

On the 10th we came on twelve miles to Kumbhīr, over a plain of poor soil, much impregnated with salt, and with some works in which salt is made, with solar evaporation. The earth is dug up, water is filtered through it, and drawn off into small square beds, where it is evaporated by exposure to the solar heat. The gate of this fort leading out to the road we came is called, modestly enough, after Kumbhīr, a place only ten miles distant; that leading to Mathurā, three or four stages distant, is called the Mathurā gate. At Delhi, the gates of the city walls are called ostentatiously after distant places—the *Kashmīr*, the *Kābul*, the *Constantinople* gates. Outside the Kumbhīr gate, I saw, for the first time in my life, the well peculiar to Upper India. It is built up in the form of a round tower or cylindrical shell of burnt bricks, well cemented with good mortar, and covered inside and out with good stucco work, and let down by degrees, as the earth is removed by men at work in digging under the light earthy or sandy foundation inside and out. This well is about twenty feet below and twenty feet above the surface, and had to be built higher as it was let into the ground.¹

On the 11th we came on twelve miles to Dīg (Deeg), over a plain of poor and badly-cultivated soil, which must be almost all under water in the rains. This was, and still is, the country seat of the Jāts of Bharatpur, who rose, as

¹ That is to say, that the well-cylinder is gradually sunk by its own weight, aided, if necessary, by heavy additional weights piled upon it. The sinking often takes many months, and is continued till a suitable resting-place is found. The cylinder is built on a strong ring of timber. Indian bridge piers commonly rest on wells of this kind. In such cases the ring is sometimes made of iron.

I have already stated, to wealth and power by aggressions upon their immediate neighbours, and the plunder of tribute on its way to the imperial capital, and of the baggage of passing armies during the contests for dominion that followed the death of the Emperors, and during the decline and fall of the empire. The Jāts found the morasses with which they were surrounded here a source of strength. They emigrated from the banks of the Indus about Multān, and took up their abode by degrees on the banks of the Jumna, and those of the Chambal, from their confluence upwards, where they became cultivators and robbers upon a small scale, till they had the means to build garrisons, when they entered the lists with princes, who were only robbers upon a large scale. The Jāts, like the Marāthās, rose, by a feeling of nationality, among a people who had none. Single landholders were every day rising to principalities by means of their gangs of robbers; but they could seldom be cemented under one common head by a bond of national feeling.

They have a noble quadrangular garden at Dīg, surrounded by a high wall. In the centre of each of the four faces is one of the most beautiful Hindoo buildings for accommodation that I have ever seen, formed of a very fine sandstone brought from the quarries of Rūpbās, which lie between thirty and forty miles to the south, and eight or ten miles west of Fathpur Sikri. These stones are brought in in flags some sixteen feet long, from two to three feet wide, and one thick, with sides as flat as glass, the flags being of the natural thickness of the strata. The garden is four hundred and seventy-five feet long, by three hundred and fifty feet wide; and in the centre is an octagonal pond, with openings on the four sides leading up to the four buildings, each opening having from the centre of the pond to the foot of the flight of steps leading into them, an avenue of *jets d'eau*.

Dīg as much surpassed, as Bharatpur fell short of, my expectations. I had seen nothing in India of architectural

beauty to be compared with the buildings in this garden, except at Agra. The useful and the elegant are here everywhere happily blended; nothing seems disproportionate, or unsuitable to the purpose for which it was designed; and all that one regrets is that so beautiful a garden should be situated in so vile a swamp.¹ There was a general complaint among the people of the town of a want of “rozgār” (employment), and its fruit, subsistence; the taking of Bharatpur had, they said, produced a sad change among them for the worse. Godby observed to some of the respectable men about us, who complained of this, that happily their chief had now no enemy to employ them against. “But what,” said they, “is a prince without an army? and why do you keep up yours now that all your enemies have been subdued?” “We want them,” replied Godby, “to prevent our friends from cutting each other’s throats, and to defend them all against a foreign enemy.” “True,” said they, “but what are we to do who have nothing but our swords to depend upon, now that our chief no longer wants us, and you won’t take us?” “And what,” said some shopkeepers, “are we to do who provided these troops with clothes, food, and furniture, which they can no longer afford to pay for.” *Company ke amal men kuchchh rozgār nahīn* (“Under the Company’s dominion there is no employment”). This is too true; we do the soldiers’ work with one-tenth of the soldiers that had before been employed in it over the territories we acquire,

¹ In the original edition Dīg is illustrated by four coloured plates. The buildings are all the work of Sūraj Mal, the virtual founder of the Bharatpur dynasty, between A.D. 1725 and 1763. The palace wants, says Fergusson, “the massive character of the fortified palaces of other Rājput states, but for grandeur of conception and beauty of detail it surpasses them all. . . . The greatest defect of the palace is that the style, when it was erected, was losing its true form of lithic propriety. The forms of its pillars and their ornaments are better suited for wood or metal than for stone architecture.” It is a “fairly creation.” (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed., p.p. 481-484.)

and turn the other nine-tenths adrift. They all sink into the lowest class of religious mendicants, or retainers ; or live among their friends as drones upon the land ; while the manufacturing, trading, and commercial industry that provided them with the comforts, conveniences, and elegancies of life while they were in a higher grade of service is in its turn thrown out of employment ; and the whole frame of society becomes, for a time, deranged by the local diminution in the demand *for the services of men and the produce of their industry.*

I say we do the soldiers' work with one-tenth of the numbers that were formerly required for it. I will mention an anecdote to illustrate this. In the year 1816 I was marching with my regiment from the Nepāl frontier, after the war, to Allahabad. We encamped about four miles from a mud fort in the kingdom of Oudh, and heard the guns of the Amil, or chief of the district, playing all day upon this fort, from which his batteries were removed at least two miles. He had three regiments of infantry, a corps or two of cavalry, and a good park of artillery ; while the garrison consisted of only about two hundred stout Rājput landholders and cultivators, or yeomen. In the evening, just as we had sat down to dinner, a messenger came to the commanding officer, Colonel Gregory, who was a member of the mess, from the said Amil, and begged permission to deliver his message in private. I, as the senior staff officer, was requested to hear what he had to say.

"What do you require from the commanding officer ?"

"I require the loan of the regiment."

"I know the commanding officer will not let you have the regiment."

"If the Amil cannot get more, he will be glad to get two companies ; and I have brought with me this bag of gold, containing some two or three hundred gold mohurs."

I delivered the message to Colonel Gregory, before all the officers, who desired me to say that he could not spare

a single man, as he had no authority to assist the Amil, and was merely marching through the country to his destination. I did so. The man urged me to beg the commanding officer, if he could do no more, merely to halt the next day where he was, and lend the Amil the use of one of his drummers.

“And what will you do with him?”

“Why, just before daylight, we will take him down near one of the gates of the fort, and make him beat his drum as hard as he can; and the people within, thinking the whole regiment is upon them, will make out as fast as possible at the opposite gate.”

“And the bag of gold—what is to become of that?”

“You and the old gentleman can divide it between you, and I will double it for you, if you like.”

I delivered the message before all the officers to their great amusement; and the poor man was obliged to carry back his bag of gold to the Amil. The Amil is the collector of revenues in Oudh, and he is armed with all the powers of government, and has generally several regiments and a train of artillery with him.

The large landholders build these mud forts, which they defend by their Rājput cultivators, who are among the bravest men in the world. One hundred of them would never hesitate to attack a thousand of the king's regular troops, because they know the Amil would be ashamed to have any noise made about it at court; but they know also that, if they were to beat one hundred of the Company's troops, they would soon have a thousand upon them; and, if they were to beat one thousand, they would soon have ten. They provide for the maintenance of those who are wounded in their flight, and for the widows and orphans of those who are killed. Their prince provides for neither, and his soldiers are, consequently, somewhat chary of fighting. It is from this peasantry, the military cultivators of Oudh, that our Bengal native infantry draws three out

Indira Gandhi National
Centre for the Arts

of four of its recruits, and finer young men for soldiers can hardly anywhere be found.¹

The advantage which arises to society from doing the soldier's duty with a smaller number has never been sufficiently appreciated in India ; but it will become every day more manifest, as our dominion becomes more and more stable—for men who have lived by the sword do not in India like to live by anything else, or to see their children anything but soldiers. Under the former government men brought their own arms and horses to the service, and took them away with them again when discharged. The supply always greatly exceeded the demand for soldiers both in the cavalry and the infantry, and a very great portion of the men armed and accoutred as soldiers were always without service, roaming over the country in search of it. To such men the profession next in rank after that of the soldier robbing in the service of the sovereign was that of the robber plundering on his own account. "*Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut expectare annum, tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri ; pigrum quinimmo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.*" "War and rapine supply the prince with the means of his munificence. You cannot persuade the German to cultivate the fields and wait patiently for the harvest so easily as you can to challenge the enemy, and expose himself to honourable wounds. They hold it to be base and dishonourable to earn by the sweat of their brow what they might acquire by their blood."²

The equestrian robber had his horse, and was called "ghurāsī," horse-robber, a term which he never thought disgraceful. The foot-robber under the native government

¹ On these topics see the "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude," *passim*. The composition of the Bengal army has been much changed.

² The quotation is from the end of Chapter XIV of the *Germania* of Tacitus.

stood in the same relation to the horse-robber as the foot-soldier to the horse-soldier, because the trooper furnished his own horses, arms, and accoutrements, and considered himself a man of rank and wealth compared with the foot-soldier ; both, however, had the wherewithal to rob the traveller on the highway ; and, in the intervals between wars, the high roads were covered with them. There was a time in England, it is said, when the supply of clergymen was so great compared with the demand for them, from the undue stimulus given to clerical education, that it was not thought disgraceful for them to take to robbing on the highway ; and all the high roads were, in consequence, infested by them. How much more likely is a soldier to consider himself justified in this pursuit, and to be held so by the feelings of society in general, when he seeks in vain for regular service under his sovereign and his viceroys.

The individual soldiers not only armed, accoutred, and mounted themselves, but they generally ranged themselves under leaders, and formed well-organized bands for any purpose of war or plunder. They followed the fortunes of such leaders whether in service or out of it ; and, when dismissed from that of their sovereign, they assisted them in robbing on the highway, or in pillaging the country till the sovereign was compelled to take them back, or give them estates in rent-free tenure for their maintenance and that of their followers.

All this is reversed under our government. We do the soldiers' work much better than it was ever before done with one-tenth—nay, I may say, one-fiftieth—part of the numbers that were employed to do it by our predecessors ; and the whole number of the soldiers employed by us is not equal to that of those who were under them actually in the transition state, or on their way from the place where they had lost service to the place where they hoped to find it ; extorting the means of subsistence either by intimidation or by open violence. Those who are in this transition

state under us are neither armed, accoutred, nor mounted ; we do not disband *en masse*, we only dismiss individuals for offences, and they have no leaders to range themselves under. Those who come to seek our service are the sons of yeomen, bred up from their infancy with all those feelings of deference for superiors which we require in soldiers. They have neither arms, horses, nor accoutrements ; and, when they leave us permanently or temporarily, they take none with them—they never rob or steal—they will often dispute with the shopkeepers on the road about the price of provisions, or get a man to carry their bundles gratis for a few miles, but this is the utmost of their transgressions, and for these things they are often severely handled by our police.

It is extremely gratifying to an Englishman to hear the general testimony borne by all classes of people to the merits of our rule in this respect ; they all say that no former government ever devoted so much attention to the formation of good roads and to the protection of those who travel on them ; and much of the security arises from the change I have here remarked in the character and number of our military establishments. It is equally gratifying to reflect that the advantages must go on increasing, as those who have been thrown out of employment in the army find other occupations for themselves and their children ; for find them they must or turn mendicants, if India should be blessed with a long interval of peace. All soldiers under us who have served the government faithfully for a certain number of years, are, when no longer fit for the active duties of their profession, sent back with the means of subsistence in honourable retirement for the rest of their lives among their families and friends, where they form, as it were, fountains of good feeling towards the government they have served. Under former governments, a trooper was discharged as soon as his horse got disabled, and a foot-soldier as soon as he got disabled himself—no matter how—whether in the service of the prince, or other-

wise ; no matter how long they had served, whether they were still fit for any other service or not. Like the old soldier in "Gil Blas," they turned robbers on the highway, where they could still present a spear or a matchlock at a traveller, though no longer deemed worthy to serve in the ranks of the army. Nothing tended so much to the civilization of Europe as the substitution of standing armies for militia ; and nothing has tended so much to the improvement of India under our rule.

The troops to which our standing armies in India succeeded were much the same in character as those licentious bodies to which the standing armies of the different nations of Europe succeeded ; and the result has been, and will, I hope, continue to be the same, highly beneficial to the great mass of the people.

By a statute of Elizabeth it was made a capital offence, felony without benefit of clergy, for soldiers or sailors to beg on the high roads without a pass ; and I suppose this statute arose from their frequently robbing on the highways in the character of beggars.¹ There must at that time have been an immense number of soldiers in the transition state in England ; men who disdained the labours of peaceful life, or had by long habit become unfitted for them. Religious mendicity has hitherto been the great safety valve through which the unquiet transition spirit has found vent under our strong and settled government. A Hindoo of any caste may become a religious mendicant of the two great monastic orders—of Gosāins, who are disciples of

¹ The Act alluded to is probably 14 Elizabeth, c. 5. Other Acts of the same reign dealing with vagrancy and the first poor-law are 39 Elizabeth, c. 3, and 43 Elizabeth, c. 2 (A.D. 1601). In 1595 vagrancy had assumed such alarming proportions in London that a provost-marshal was appointed to give the wanderers the short shrift of martial law. The course of legislation on the subject is summarized in the article "Vagrant" in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, and the article "Poor-Laws" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition. See also the chapter entitled "The England of Elizabeth" in Green's "History of the English People."

Siva, and Bairāgis, who are disciples of Vishnu ; and any Muhammadan may become a Fakīr ; and Gosāins, Bairāgis, and Fakīrs, can always secure, or extort, food from the communities they visit.¹

Still, however, there is enough of this unquiet transition spirit left to give anxiety to a settled government ; for the moment insurrection breaks out at any point, from whatever cause, to that point thousands are found flocking from north, east, west, and south, with their arms and their horses, if they happen to have any, in the hope of finding service either under the local authorities or the insurgents themselves ; as the troubled winds of heaven rush to the point where the pressure of the atmosphere has been diminished.²

¹ As already observed (p. 265), the term Gosāin is by no means restricted to the special devotees of Siva ; many Gosāins, for example, those in Bengal and those at Gokul in the Mathurā district, are followers of Vishnu. The term "fakīr" is very vaguely used, and often applied to Hindoos.

² Even after the lapse of sixty years much of this unquiet spirit still hovers about India, and the incompatibility between the ideas of nineteenth-century Englishmen and those of natives whose mental attitude approaches that of Europeans of the twelfth century is a perennial source of unrest.

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